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ABSTRACT

Suggesting that America should strive for linguistic and cultural pluralism, this special issue gathers in one place the latest thoughts of scholars on topics related to the concept of cultural pluralism, i.e., English to speakers of other languages (ESOL) and standard English to speakers of a nonstandard dialect (SESOD). Kenneth Croft, James Ney, John Fisher, Mary Finocchiaro, among others, contributed articles to the ESOL section, which groups materials into three categories--Cultural Differences, Bilingualism, and Curricular Innovations. The SESOD section, however, groups materials under Attitudes, The Historical Perspective, and Contrastive Dialectology. Contributors to the SESOD section included Robert Cromack, Ralph Fasold, Kenneth Goodman, J. L. Dillard, and William Stewart. Both sections urge the teacher to explore the cultural background of students, to accept their language or dialect as a valid linguistic system, and to see in their diversity the strength of American society. Ralph Fasold's review of "Language and Poverty" by Frederick Williams concludes the anthology and stresses once more the adequacy of the difference model, a position held by the authors whose articles appear in this issue. (HS)

NEW YORK STATE ENGLISH COUNCIL
the **english RECORD**

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Studies
in



ENGLISH TO SPEAKERS OF
OTHER LANGUAGES
&
STANDARD ENGLISH TO SPEAKERS
OF A NON-STANDARD DIALECT

RODOLFO JACOBSON

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New York State English Council

Studies in

ENGLISH TO SPEAKERS OF OTHER LANGUAGES

and

STANDARD ENGLISH TO SPEAKERS OF A
NON-STANDARD DIALECT

Edited by

Rodolfo Jacobson

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EDITORIAL

LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL PLURALISM

An Introduction to Papers on Bilingualism and Bidialectalism

An unusual problem seems to confront the English teacher in America: her students are the product of different cultures and speak different languages or dialects and yet all are usually treated alike and taught English as if these children were all culturally and linguistically homogeneous. Her teaching is geared to a majority, the middle-class child whose native dialect is Standard English, and she expects the children of our minority groups, the Puerto Rican, the Mexican-American, the American Indian, the Chinese, the Negro (belonging to the low socio-economic class), to perform as efficiently as the child for whom the school program is actually intended. The result has therefore been discouraging. Whereas the middle-class child usually ranges in his performance from average to good or excellent, the other children perform, as a general rule, very poorly and often become dropouts. Their poor performance in school tasks correlates closely with our policy of underdifferentiated teaching. To mold a uniform type of American, we have ignored the individual differences of our students and have educated merely a part of our entire school population, permitting the rest to drop out or to drift off. It has become necessary, therefore, to modify our earlier objective of seeking uniformity and focus instead our attention on the individual in light of his cultural and linguistic background. In other words, we must stop ignoring the differences, so that we may explore the cultural background of our students, accept their language or dialect as a valid linguistic system and see in their diversity the strength of American Society. Rather than considering herself the "melting pot" of our various cultures, America should strive for linguistic and cultural pluralism.

In view of such a goal, the Editor of *The English Record* approached several noted anthropologists, linguists, educationists and educational administrators and invited them to submit a research or position paper in those areas of English instruction that are most closely related to the concept of "cultural pluralism," i.e., *English to Speakers of Other Languages* and *Standard English to Speakers of a Non-Standard Dialect*, in order to gather together, in one special issue of the journal, the latest thoughts of American scholars on topics related to these two fields. The response to our

Dr. Rudolfo Jacobson is Professor of English at State University of New York College at Cortland, where he is directing a graduate program in English Sociolinguistics. He currently serves as Affiliate Director of the New York State English Council. Dr. Jacobson has directed an NDEA Institute in linguistics and participated in convention programs inside and outside New York State. He has published a number of articles in professional journals and a book on historical linguistics.

plea for papers has surpassed by far our expectations and therefore we are now in the position of publishing the present anthology issue, a collection of articles on bilingualism and bidialectalism, as evidence of America's growing concern for language in its social context.

The anthology has been structured on the basis of the material submitted. The articles in *English to Speakers of Other Languages* (ESOL) are gathered in three categories, i.e., *Cultural Differences*, *Bilingualism*, and *Curricular Innovations*. Kenneth Croft and James W. Noy have explored in their articles the nature of cultural differences and discussed the need of assessing objectively the way how individuals categorize their experience and how such knowledge can be channeled into a viable program (Section 1). John C. Fisher, Thomas R. Hopkins and Jeris E. Strain have described several programs in the field of Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages here and overseas (Section 2). These programs have achieved varying degrees of success but there seems to be little evidence so far that the students involved in these programs are becoming truly bilingual, either because some of them are losing fluency in their native language or because they are acquiring the expected native speaker proficiency. One may therefore question the fact whether bilingualism can be enforced at all and, if so, whether our students have been motivated sufficiently to achieve best results. On the other hand, curricular innovations also contribute to more successful teaching (Section 3). Robert B. Kaplan and Norman C. Stageberg have made specific suggestions as to how advanced composition and suprasegmentals should be taught to speakers of other languages, whereas R. H. Hendrickson and Jay Wissot have considered ESOL Program innovations on a broader scale. Mary Finocchiaro, in identifying ESOL problems and assigning priorities for their solution, has recognized several shortcomings in ESOL practices and has stated her own position regarding these practices in an inventory of "beliefs" and "disbeliefs."

The contributions to the field of *Standard English to Speakers of a Non-Standard Dialect* (also: Standard English to Speakers of Other Dialects; hence, SESOD) are also grouped in three categories, i.e., *Attitudes*, *The Historical Perspective* and *Contrastive Dialectology*. The question of "attitudes" becomes very important in SESOD. Evidently, nobody questions the fact that Spanish, French, Persian or Cree are linguistic systems in their own right. What, however, is the status of a non-standard dialect in relation to the standard or prestige dialect with which it shares many features? (Section 4)? Does the speaker of a social dialect, say, Black English, speak the way he does because his grammar is different from a Standard English grammar or is his speech merely "careless," "sloppy" or even indicative of cognitive and verbal deficiency? Robert E. Cromack, Ralph W. Fasold, Kenneth S. Goodman, Melvin J. Hoffman, Jean Malmstrom and the joint authors Frederick Williams and Jack L. Whitehead have all addressed themselves to this issue—as well as to others—and have reached almost identical conclusions by accepting the difference model over the deficiency model. An argument often becomes less vulnerable if it can be justified historically. As a matter of fact, the individual who questions the status of Black English as a complete linguistic system will object to this argument much less, if he is made aware of the historical development of the dialect in question. J. L. Dillard and William A. Stewart, in presenting several historical aspects of Black English, have added this new perspective to the study of social dialects, a perspective which is indeed difficult to refute (Section 5). If it can be proven that the so-called "sloppy" features of Black English are in reality survivals from Creole or even African languages, then it becomes quite clear that this "sloppiness" is merely the

evidence of reflexes of earlier features. One of the arguments against the implementation of programs geared toward the teaching of Standard English as a second dialect has been the fact that we still know too little about the way how non-standard dialects function. This may be true to some extent. On the other hand, we are continuously increasing our knowledge in social dialectology as the papers included in *Contrastive Dialectology* (Section 6) can tell. The work of Kenneth R. Johnson, Richard L. Light, Davenport M. Plumer, Robert L. Politzer and Roger W. Shuy shows that contrastive data are gathered and interpreted, a fact that tends to invalidate the stand taken recently by opponents of what is known as "functional bidialectalism." (Cf. M. J. Hoffman, "Bi-dialectalism . . .," p. 95.) At first sight, the study in Haitian Creole and Standard English by R. M. R. and Beatrice Hall seems not to belong to this section, since the speaker of Haitian Creole is obviously a speaker of another language. On the other hand, the identification of Creole features and their confrontation with Standard English features is of special interest to the Student of Black English. In view of the latter consideration, "A Contrastive Haitian Creole-English Checklist" pertains to this Section.

Ralph W. Fasold's review of Frederick Williams' book *Language and Poverty* concludes the anthology. This book review * serves, in addition to the review per se, the purpose of stressing once more the adequacy of the difference model, a position held by the authors whose articles appear in this issue. In fact, it is interesting to note that none of our contributors chose to defend the deficiency model. This preference of the difference model seems to suggest that a fundamental change in our appraisal of cultures and dialects is already under way. The change, we hope, will ultimately help us redefine our society as a pluralistic system and, as a by-product, help us gain greater competency in the teaching of English to those who are culturally and linguistically different.

Rodolfo Jacobson
Guest-Editor

* The book review only appears in *The English Record* but not in the NYSEC Monograph volume. Readers of Monograph volume 14, interested in the review, may obtain tear sheets of the article from *The English Record* office at SUC Oneonta, Oneonta, N. Y., 13820.

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A. ENGLISH TO SPEAKERS OF OTHER LANGUAGES

Section I: Cultural Interference

LANGUAGE AND CATEGORIES: SOME NOTES FOR FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHERS¹

Kenneth Croft

Some of you have probably had the experience of trying to make your way around in a foreign country where the metric system was used for weights and measures, and temperature was measured in centigrade units. In addition, you probably had to deal with a different monetary system; perhaps the units were not entirely unfamiliar in relation to each other, but they were different in terms of the buying power of American dollars and cents. Assuming you had a good command of the language of the country—even a very good command of it—you still might have encountered some interference in using it at times because the measuring units differed in value from those you were accustomed to using.

Categories of Measurement

On three occasions I was a resident in Mexico City: the first time for about eleven months, the second time for about eight months, and the third time for about thirteen months. Each time I went to Mexico I had to go through a period of adjustment to the metric system in regard to distances, liquid measures, weights, the Celsius temperature scale, etc. I learned a few approximate equivalents to American measuring units once and did not have to relearn them later. For example, I found out that a kilogram was equal to approximately 2.2 pounds, so when I wanted to buy something like a pound of meat, I asked for half a kilo. I learned that a liter was a little more than a quart, and gasoline was sold by the liter; so instead of asking for ten gallons of gas, I asked for 40 liters. (This gave me about ten and a half gallons.)

Distances and temperature equivalents were not quite as simple, and they did require a certain amount of relearning. A meter, I discovered, was a little longer than a yard (one meter = 39.37 inches); this helped me with calculations of short distances. But a kilometer (1000 meters) is equal to .621 miles—somewhat more than half a mile. Nevertheless, I often found myself thinking of a kilometer as approximately half a mile in making

¹Notes, for the most part, used in talking with groups of teachers of English to speakers of other languages during the summer of 1969 at the University of Southern California, the University of Illinois, and the California Polytechnic College at San Luis Obispo.

Dr. Kenneth Croft is at present Professor of English and Anthropology at San Francisco State College. Prior to his appointment in California, he was head of Materials Development Program of the American Language Institute at Georgetown University. Dr. Croft has published widely in the areas of linguistics, anthropology and English as a Second Language. His publications show a marked interest, not only in the theoretical aspects of these fields but also in the application of linguistic and anthropological concepts to the teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages.

quick, rough calculations of distance to certain places and also in judging the speed limit—a certain number of kilometers per hour. People who were able to make mental calculations by using fractions, I noticed, came up with more accurate equivalents; one kilometer equals approximately $\frac{5}{8}$ of a mile.

As any former student of chemistry or physics knows, the Fahrenheit temperature scale is convertible to the Celsius (Centigrade) scale and vice versa by a formula. However, relatively few people go around making this kind of conversion quickly without using pencil and paper. A couple of reference points are good to remember, namely that 0°C equals 32°F —the point at which water freezes—and 100°C equals 212°F —the point at which water boils. Once in a while the temperature in Mexico City goes down to zero— 0°C , that is, not 0°F . It gave me a start when I heard, for the first time, that the temperature might drop to zero during the night. When you want to convert Fahrenheit to Centigrade, you subtract 32 and then multiply by $\frac{5}{9}$. 70°F , my favorite temperature during the day, is about 21°C .

I became fairly expert in money conversion, perhaps because of necessity. My income was in dollars, and these had to be converted into Mexican pesos. Then everything was paid for in pesos. I noticed that inflation was taking place, faster than I've ever noticed it in the States, and I had to be careful that I didn't spend money at a faster rate than I received it. In terms of American money, the peso was worth about 17 cents at first; then it dropped to a little more than $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents; later it dropped further to about 8 cents. What happened may be described in two ways: we say the peso was devalued on two occasions, but from another point of view—expressed by some Mexicans—the Americans raised the price of the dollar.

Interference from Language Categories

A great deal has been written and said about interference in language learning—interference from one's native language while learning a foreign language. We read and hear mostly about interference in phonology (sound structure), interference in morphology (word structure), and interference in syntax (sentence structure). The kind of interference noted above might be called interference in vocabulary, but I think it is more precise to call it interference from language categories—the structuring of the way that people habitually think about and understand phenomena they deal with in their everyday lives.

In regard to units of measure, you might say that I lived in a world of approximations; for me there were no exact equivalents—that is, not any I could arrive at simply. Certainly the Mexican's analysis and understanding of distance, weight, temperature, and monetary values were quite different from mine. His thoughts concerning "how long" or "how far" were in terms of centimeters, meters, kilometers, and the like, whereas my thoughts were in terms of inches, feet, yards and miles. Similarly, his notion of weight was in terms of grams, kilograms, and metric tons; my notion of weight, on the other hand, was in terms of ounces, pounds, and "short" tons—categories somewhat differently graded. At a stand near the entrance to a movie one time I noticed that the price of candy was given as so much per 100 grams; I didn't know then, but I know now, that 100 grams equals $3\frac{1}{2}$ ounces.

Learning the vocabulary of the metric system presents no great problem; actually, it is rather simple. The fundamental units are the meter and the gram. Designations of multiples and subdivisions of any unit can be arrived at by combining with the name of the unit the prefix *deka-*, *hecto-*, and *kilo-*, meaning, respectively, 10, 100, and 1000 and *deci-*, *centi-*, and

milli-, meaning, respectively one-tenth, one-hundredth, and one-thousandth. It may be pointed out perhaps that the measuring units of the metric system are not native categories of any natural language. Nevertheless, they are very *real* categories in most European languages, and these categories provide a set of "grooves" for thinking about distance, weight, etc.—quite different from our set of "grooves."

The examples noted above demonstrate the kind of interference that may result when phenomena are categorized and viewed differently by the speakers of different languages. Whether formal linguistic categories or semantic categories, they still influence the thinking of the people who speak the language. According to Edward Sapir, "... the 'real world' is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group . . ."²

The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis

There are many statements in the writings of Edward Sapir³ and Benjamin Lee Whorf⁴ to the effect that our thoughts, our ideas, and our views of the universe are shaped considerably by our language—including, of course, the formal and semantic categories of our language. Some of these statements have been cited hundreds of times in linguistic and anthropological literature and have, in a sense, become classic statements; the notions contained in them have been designated as the "Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis" (of linguistic relativity). Whorf states that "We cut nature up, organize it into concepts, and ascribe significances as we do, largely because we are parties to an agreement to organize it in this way—an agreement that holds throughout our speech community and is codified in the patterns of our language."⁵

Both Sapir and Whorf say there is relatively little if any awareness of the intricate workings of the language on the part of the speaker while he is speaking his native language. Whorf states "... that the phenomena of a language are to its speakers largely of a background character and outside the critical consciousness and control of the speaker. . . ."⁶

The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis has been restated, explicated, and elaborated in various ways by social scientists⁷—sometimes with evidence that tends to support it and sometimes with evidence that tends to refute it. After many years of research, however, there still appears to be insufficient evidence to prove anything conclusively about the S-W Hypothesis; it remains pretty much controversial. In 1953 Harry Hoijer stated the central idea of the S-W Hypothesis in this way: "Each language has its own peculiar and favorite devices, lexical and grammatical, which are employed in reporting, analyzing, and categorizing experience."⁸

Whorf's notion was that language directed the perceptions of its speakers besides providing habitual modes of analyzing experience into significant categories. But Hoijer was more conservative; he stated that "Languages . . . do not so much determine the perceptual and other faculties vis-à-vis experience as they influence and direct these faculties into pre-

² "The Status of Linguistics as a Science." In *Selected Writings of Edward Sapir in Language, Culture, and Personality*, ed. by David G. Mandelbaum. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949, p. 162.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-166, *passim*.

⁴ *Language, Thought, and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf*, ed. by John B. Carroll. Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1956. *Passim*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

⁷ "The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis." In *Language in Culture: Conference on the Interrelations of Language and Other Aspects of Culture*, ed. by Harry Hoijer. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1954, p. 95.

scribed channels."⁸ This more conservative position seems to be favored by linguists and anthropologists today. I think John B. Carroll's restatement of the S-W Hypothesis, in the light of recent relativity theories, is not untypical: "Insofar as languages differ in the ways they encode experience, language users tend to sort out and distinguish experience differently according to the categories provided by their respective languages. These cognitions will tend to have certain effects on behavior."⁹

Number Categories

Those of you who teach English to orientals will be familiar with this situation: There is a huge class of English nouns which we often refer to as "count nouns" or "countable nouns." These for the most part have different forms for the SINGULAR (one) and PLURAL (more than one). The choice of the singular or plural affects the syntax; for example, we use *this*, *that*, and *is* with the singular and *these*, *those*, and *are* with the plural. But even after studying English for eight or ten years, many of my oriental students are still unable to make this singular-plural distinction consistently—that is, in the way that native speakers make it. Their tendency is to ignore the fact that English has separate categories denoting *one* and *more than one* and use only the former.

The speaker of Chinese, Japanese, or Korean is not forced by the conventions of his language to specify one or more than one when he talks about certain objects in the world and, consequently, is not compelled to think of them in such terms. In other words, singular and plural are not grammatical categories in Chinese, Japanese, and Korean, as they are in English and many other languages. Oriental languages have ways of expressing the difference between one and more than one, but if this difference is not particularly important in what the speaker is saying, he does not habitually express it. The English speaker, on the other hand, is forced by the conventions of his language to express this difference, whether it is important or not. I imagine the average native speaker of English would be hard put to find examples in which he considered the singular-plural distinction unnecessary, whereas the oriental, I imagine, would not be able to come up with a plentiful number of cases in his language in which he considered the distinction to be necessary. Here we see two separate ways of categorizing and reporting information about objects: indifference in regard to number on the one hand, and a compulsory distinction between one and more than one on the other.

Pronoun Systems

In doing their analytical work, linguists map out the grammatical categories they find in a language. A linguist, for example, might show his analysis of the subject forms of English personal pronouns as in Figure 1.

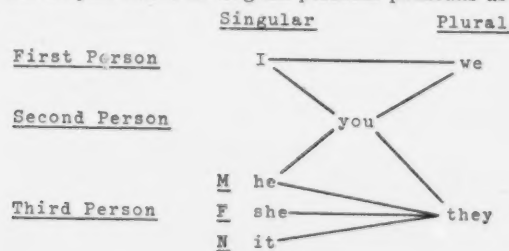


Figure 1

⁸ Ibid, p. 94.

⁹ "Linguistic Relativity, Contrastive Linguistics, and Language Learning." *International Review of Applied Linguistics* 1.1-20 (1963), p. 12.

He would then point out that a gender distinction (masculine, feminine, and neuter) is found only in the third person singular, "you" is nonspecific as to number (singular or plural), and "we" means "I and one or more others."

Traditionally we show these pronouns as six points on a chart (see Figure 2), perhaps because the pronouns of other European languages generally pattern out this way.

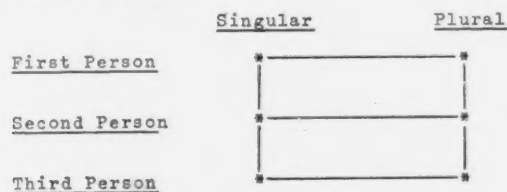


Figure 2

If we now examine pronominal reference in Samoan similarly, we come out with a fairly different chart. (Compare Figure 3 with Figure 2.) In-

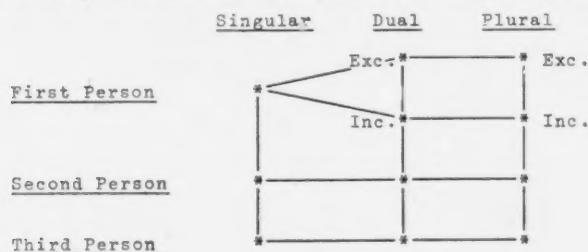


Figure 3

stead of the English two-way number system (singular and plural), we have a three-way number system: singular (one), dual (two), and plural (more than two). The notion of singular in all persons compares well in both languages, except that the English gender distinction in the third-person singular is not found in Samoan. On the other hand, we find much more elaboration in Samoan when we compare the notion of "more than one" in the two languages. The Samoan dual appears to carry with it a good deal of the time something like the English idea of "couple."

People with only a European-language orientation generally find the dual requires at least a minor adjustment of habit: the notions of "you-more-than-one" and "they," for example, have to be redistributed as "you-couple," "you-more-than-two," and "they-couple," "they-more-than-two." More than just a minor adjustment is necessary for the notion of "we," for we find the inclusive and exclusive in both the first-person dual and first-person plural. There's a four-way system in Samoan, all translated into English as *we*: "you (singular)-and-I" (inclusive), "I-and-one-other-but-not-you" (exclusive) and "you (singular)-and-I-and-one-or-more-others" (inclusive), "I-and-others-but-not-including-you" (exclusive).

Use of person-number contrasts for indicating pronominal reference, as shown in the English and Samoan examples above, may be less efficient sometimes than other kinds of contrast. Harold Conklin's componential analysis of Hanunoo pronouns is a good example of this, and I think he

comes closer to a conceptual code in his kind of treatment.¹⁰ Note first the traditional charting of Hanunoo pronouns in Figure 4. Conklin saw there

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
<u>First Person</u>	kuh	tah	mih (exclusive) tam (inclusive)
<u>Second Person</u>	muh	-	yuh
<u>Third Person</u>	yah	-	dah

Figure 4

were eight terms here in an assymetrical arrangement and suggested there might be an underlying scheme of components other than the usual ones for person and number. The ones he extracted from his data were: inclusion of the speaker (S) or exclusion of the speaker ($\bar{S}$), inclusion of the hearer (H) or exclusion of the hearer ($\bar{H}$), and minimal membership (M) or nonminimal membership ($\bar{M}$).¹¹ He then constructed a box with a pronoun at each corner, the location representing an intersection of these three dimensions of contrast. (See Figure 5.) All the pronouns on the front

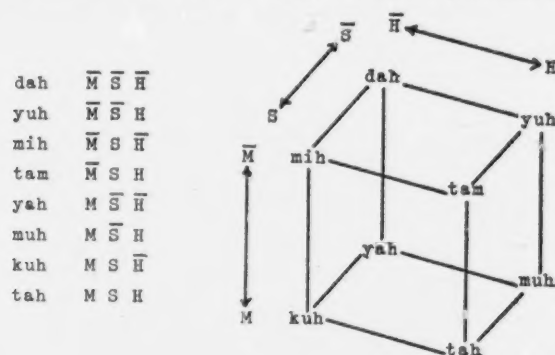


Figure 5

of the box include the speaker, and those on the back exclude the speaker; the pronouns on the right include the hearer, and those on the left exclude the hearer; the pronouns at the bottom show minimal membership, and those at the top nonminimal membership.

Paradigms

The kind of chart just described is sometimes called a *paradigm*, defined by Lounsbury as "any set of linguistic forms wherein: (a) the meaning of every form has a feature in common with the meanings of all the other forms of the set, and (b) the meaning of every form differs from

¹⁰ "Lexicographical Treatment of Folk Taxonomies." In *Problems in Lexicography*, ed. by Fred W. Householder and Sol Saporta. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics, 1962. pp. 134-135.

¹¹ "Minimal membership" seems to be roughly equivalent to "finite number," and "nonminimal membership" to "indefinite number."

that of every other form of the set by one or more additional features."¹² The charts representing English and Samoan pronouns may be called paradigms, too, since they meet the criteria noted in (a) and (b). Conklin's paradigm of Hanunoo pronouns is reminiscent of the Prague School charts indicating distinctive phonological features. For example, the phonological components of Turkish vowels (eight altogether) might be shown by a box with a vowel at each corner, indicating three dimensions of contrast: high versus low, front versus nonfront, and rounded versus unrounded. We would not ordinarily call this a paradigm, however, because phonological features, rather than features of meaning, would be represented.

The paradigm is a componential analysis device which shows systematically the intersection of semantic features. Grammarians have used this device for a long time in the representation of grammatical meanings of linguistic forms—the representation of grammatical categories. More recently linguistic anthropologists have made use of the paradigm to sort out semantic components of other terminological systems, in an attempt to classify (categorize) cultural phenomena as viewed by native speakers of a given language. A notable example of this is the terminology of kinship systems,¹³ but other domains (sets of semantically related terms), or at least parts of domains, seem to lend themselves to paradigmatic analysis, too. For instance, in the following arrangement of terms dealing with livestock we can clearly see the intersection of semantic components:¹⁴

sheep	ram	ewe	lamb
hogs	boar	sow	pig
horses	stallion	mare	colt
cattle	bull	cow	calf
chickens	rooster	hen	chick

Taxonomies

Another componential analysis device used by linguistic anthropologists for similar purposes (actually more widely used than the paradigm) is the *taxonomy*. Instead of showing intersections of semantic components, the taxonomy is a hierarchical arrangement of terms showing inclusion and contrast. In a simple taxonomy of, say, American money we could list coins—penny, nickel, dime, quarter, etc.—and bills—\$1, \$5, \$10, \$20, etc. We note these on a branching diagram in Figure 6. At the first level we

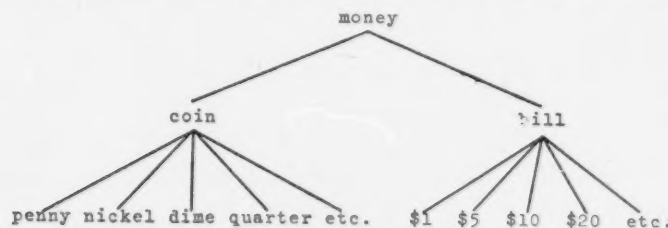


Figure 6

¹² "The Structural Analysis of Kinship Semantics." In *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Linguistics*. The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1964.

¹³ A number of kinship studies on this model have been reprinted in *Cognitive Anthropology*, ed. by Stephen A. Tyler. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1969.

¹⁴ Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-10. See also "Anthropological Aspects of Language: Animal Categories and Verbal Abuse," by Edmund Leach. In *New Directions in the Study of Language*, ed. by Eric H. Lenneberg. Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1964. p. 48.

have the domain label "money." At the second level, "coin" and "bill" contrast but are included in the first-level term "money." At the third level, "penny, nickel, dime, quarter, etc." contrast but are included in the term "coin"; similarly, "\$1, \$5, \$10, \$20, etc." contrast but are included in the term "bill." In a taxonomic arrangement, items at a lower level are kinds of items in higher levels.

The structure of domains may differ slightly to considerably from language to language. (Even the domains themselves may show a good deal of overlap from language to language.) Color categorics provide a good illustration of how people throughout the world divide the color spectrum variously,¹⁵ and they provide further examples of taxonomic arrangement. For English we might list eleven "basic" color terms: white, black, red, green, yellow, blue, brown, pink, purple, orange, and gray. At the next lower level we might, in turn, list the kinds of "red, green, brown, etc." As kinds of red we could list "maroon, scarlet, crimson, cock's comb, turkey red," and the like. Such terms as the latter are in my passive vocabulary, but I seldom use them in daily activities.

Conklin's list of Hanunoo color classes, on the other hand, is quite different:¹⁶

(ma)lagti⁷—white, light tints of other colors and mixtures.

(ma)biru—black, violet, indigo, blue, dark green, dark gray, and deep shades of other colors.

(ma)rara⁷—maroon, red, orange, yellow, mixtures in which these qualities seem to predominate.

(ma)latuy—light green, mixtures of green, yellow, and light brown.

Ordinarily, the meanings of color categories are expressed in terms of hue, saturation, and brightness. Conklin notes, however, that certain other components, namely dryness or desiccation and wetness or freshness (succulence), are relevant semantic features in Hanunoo color terms.¹⁷ He also points out that a lower-level terminology can be applied when greater color specification is required.¹⁸

Like the paradigm, the taxonomy attempts to show how the native speakers of a given language slice up reality into named categories. There is good evidence, I believe, that conceptual patterns and systems in lexicography can be discovered and mapped out by means of these devices. The methodology of linguistic anthropologists in this regard, described in several places, is rigorous and exacting.¹⁹ Before leaving the matter of taxonomies, I want to mention that only a few extensive ones have ever been worked out in depth, and fewer still have ever been published.

Figure 7 gives a partial taxonomy of the Navaho animal kingdom.²⁰ We can make a few inferences from this chart and check them with a more

¹⁵ An excellent detailed treatment of color categories can be found in *Basic Color Terms: Their Universality and Evolution*, by Brent Berlin and Paul Kay, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969.

¹⁶ "Hanunoo Color Categories." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 11:339-344 (1955).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 342-343.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 343. A question is sometimes raised about color perception when a given language contains fewer color terms than we have. Actually, color categories of different languages reflect a different division of the spectrum; these categories may be less finely graded than ours or perhaps more finely graded in some cases. The fact that the same term in a particular language applies to what we call "blue" and "green" doesn't mean that the speaker of the language can't see the difference between these two "colors." If the need arises to make a distinction between the two, he has a way of doing it. But habitually he labels what we call "blue" and "green" in the same way.

¹⁹ See Tyler's (op. cit.) Introduction, Parts I and II, particularly "Notes on Queries in Ethnography" by Charles O. Frake and "Eliciting Folk Taxonomy in Ojibwa" by Mary B. Black. Note also the bibliographical references accompanying these two papers.

²⁰ "Navaho Systems of Classification: Some Implications for Ethnoscience," by Norma Perchonock and Oswald Werner. *Ethnology* 8:229-242 (1969).

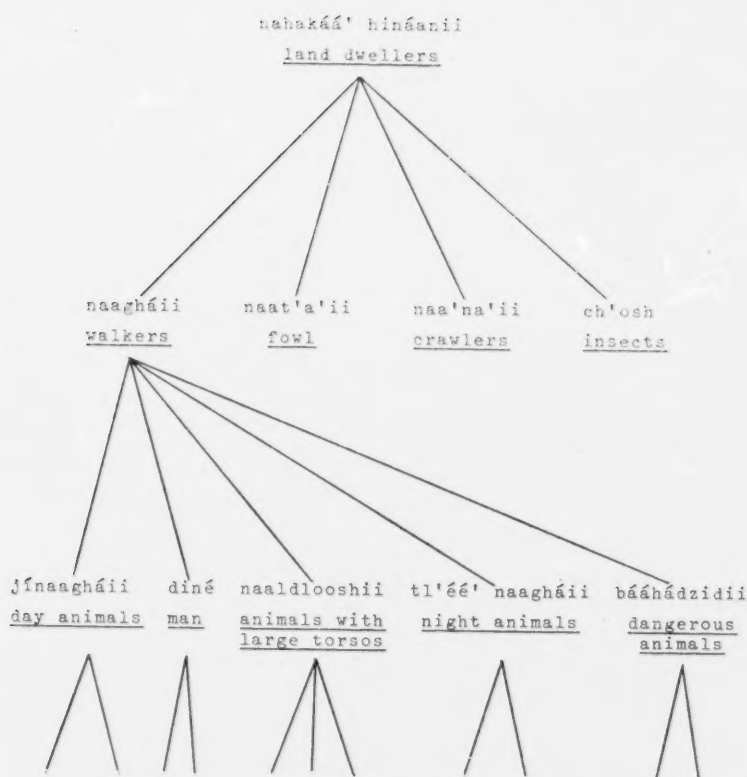


Figure 7

complete set of data. "Land dwellers" at level one possibly contrasts with a term for "water creatures," and it may be that the two are included in some higher-level term. In an English-language classification we might discriminate the two similarly—"land creatures" and "water creatures"—but we would also have an "intermediate" class of "amphibious creatures." At level two, we might guess that "walkers, fowl, crawlers, and insects" overlap our English categories "animals (including 'human animals'), birds, reptiles, and insects" pretty well. But at level three we would not consider "man" as one among several classes of animals; except in some kind of scientific zoological classification, this would seem un-English. Also the classes "day animals, animals with large torsos, night animals, and dangerous animals" are unfamiliar. In English, I imagine we would classify animals as tame or wild at this level, then tame animals as pets or livestock at the next lower level, and then animal names at the following level—something like that. In regard to wild animals, we might distinguish game animals from non-game animals at the next lower level, and give animal names at the following level. This classification in English is all impressionistic and, I suppose, "folk."²¹

²¹ Cf. Leach, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

Partial taxonomies appear here and there in anthropological and linguistic literature, and many of them seem to be concerned with demonstration of method rather than providing taxonomic information. Now that a number of ethnographers have incorporated taxonomic mapping into their field procedures, we can expect to see an abundance of taxonomic studies in the future. Some ethnographers are even using computers to aid them in sorting and arranging their field data.

Distributional Analysis

Paradigms and taxonomies are neat and orderly. But efforts in componential analysis at time produce only lists of terms and (sometimes) subclasses of these terms. Charting them seems to reveal nothing of particular significance. Nevertheless, the domains and categories under investigation are presumably no less important than others, so they must be treated in some fashion. Listing may be the most efficient means of presentation.

Nouns in many languages fall into classes we call *gender*. In English we use the labels "masculine, feminine, and neuter" and determine the gender of nouns by the pronouns used to substitute for them. These labels lack precision, but they are meaningful in most cases—less arbitrary than the gender labels for Spanish and French. In addition to formal grammatical distinctions in the English gender system, there are also semantic distinctions. And these distinctions influence our thinking about objects in the universe.

Gender classes in the Algonquian languages are labeled "animate" and "inanimate." These labels lack complete precision, too, in terms of Western science, but the two classes tend to force Algonquian speakers to make a mental separation between living and nonliving things. Navaho has an elaborate gender system—something like twelve gender classes—which appear to be based in part on shapes of objects.

Lander and Berlin have made studies of the eating vocabulary of Navaho and Tzeltal respectively.²² Both languages contain seven verbs which we translate into English as "eat." One is a general verb for eating used, for example, in questions. The others divide all foodstuffs into six classes. Navaho categories, given by Lander, are (1) "eating in general," (2) "hard or chewy object," (3) "long, stringy object," (4) "meat," (5) "one round object," (6) "mushy matter," and (7) "separable objects." Tzeltal categories given by Berlin, are similar: (1) "eating in general," (2) "chewy object with pulp expectorated," (3) "meat," (4) "mushy or gelatin-like objects," (5) "individuated, hardish objects," (6) "breadstuffs," and (7) "foods which dissolve in the mouth with little mastication."

Berlin notes that "chili pepper" and "mushroom" are included in the category labeled "meat," and Tzeltal speakers readily offer folk theories to account for this. The documentation of his field experience in gathering and classifying food terms clearly shows that these categories have cultural significance to speakers of the language. But the food categories of both Navaho and Tzeltal are grammatical categories (as are the gender classes noted above); a particular food item governs the choice of verb. Lander and Berlin give descriptive labels in English to these categories based on something the class-members have in common. There may or may not be corresponding labels in Navaho and Tzeltal—probably not.

A taxonomic arrangement, as mentioned earlier, is an arrangement of semantic categories based on inclusion: items at a lower level are kinds of

²² "Seven Navaho Verbs for Eating," by Herbert Lander. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 30:94-96 (1964). "Categories of Eating in Tzeltal and Navaho," by Brent Berlin. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 33:1-6 (1967).

items at higher levels. Other semantic categories may be based on use or function or some other means of classification. Metzger and Williams have made a study of Tzeltal firewood using distributional analysis of linguistic contexts.²³ Their field methodology, involving the formulation of frames and eliciting of responses, lead to the establishment of categories along various lines of cultural organization. Additional studies using this or similar techniques have been made of weddings, cures, diseases, deities, law, and perhaps other domains.²⁴

Conclusion

As a high-school student of Spanish many years ago, I remember that my teacher and others told me I should learn to "think in the language." They assured me that when I reached that goal I would no longer speak Spanish hesitantly or haltingly; my responses would be automatic and "natural." My notion of "thinking in the language," I know, was pretty vague at that time. I probably considered my task as learning to put words together as the native speaker did, and this could be accomplished by learning a lot of words and the rules for putting them together. I wonder if the people who advised "learning to think in a foreign language" really understood the implications of that expression; I doubt it. My notion of that expression certainly changed later on when I became an English teacher in Mexico and started gaining some familiarity with native languages spoken in that country.

As of now, I'm not sure that "learning to think in a foreign language" means anything. If it does mean something, it's certainly something much more ambitious than I previously realized. A language student would not only internalize the native speakers' patterned habits in regard to phonology, morphology, and syntax, he would also internalize the native speakers' collective view of the universe and the behavior patterns appropriate to and consistent with this view—both linguistic and nonlinguistic. It is inconceivable to me that linguistic and nonlinguistic behavior can be separated; even if we make such a separation (artificially), we still have to learn about the latter through language.

We don't know (and perhaps will never know) everything that underlies language behavior. Language categories—grammatical and lexical—certainly play a significant role in what we call the native speakers' world view and the patterned habits and responses that accompany such a view. This paper has dealt in part with interference from language categories in language learning. Traditionally, linguists have mapped out and described grammatical categories. In recent years, linguistic anthropologists have been busy mapping out categories of (other) cultural phenomena utilizing theories, research methods, and analytical devices which are similar to those of the linguist.

The other part of this paper has dealt with the methodology of linguistic anthropologists in discovering and describing language categories which lack the formal characteristics of grammatical categories; this

²³ "Some Procedures and Results in the Study of Native Categories: Tzeltal 'Firewood'." *American Anthropologist* 68:339-407 (1966).

²⁴ "A Formal Ethnographic Analysis of Tenejapa Ladino Weddings," by Duane Metzger and Gerald Williams. *American Anthropologist* 65:1076-1101 (1963). "Tenejapa Medicine I: the Curer," by Duane Metzger and Gerald Williams. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 19:216-234 (1963). "The Diagnosis of Disease among the Subanon of Mindanao," by Charles O. Frake. *American Anthropologist* 63:113-132 (1961). "Ethnographic Description and the Study of Law," by Mary Black and Duane Metzger. *American Anthropologist* 66 (Part 2, Special Publication):141-165 (1965). "A Structural Description of Subanon Religious Behavior," by Charles O. Frake. In *Explorations in Cultural Anthropology*, ed. by W. H. Goodenough. New York: McGraw Hill, Inc., 1964.

amounts to analysis of semantic components. The devices include the paradigm, the taxonomy, and distributional analysis for identifying and mapping semantic categories of a language—categories which reflect a system of knowledge built up around a people's view of what the world is like. As an approach to ethnography, these procedures, descriptions, etc. are called *ethnoscience*, *ethnographic semantics*, or simply *componential analysis*.

My emphasis is on the fact that semantic (or lexical) categories are discoverable and describable by means of componential analysis. And when these categories are known, they can be learned by language students, just as grammatical categories are learned—perhaps with ease, perhaps with difficulty. I think it largely depends on how readily the student comes to accept the idea of diversity in the classification of cultural phenomena. We all know from experience that learning to accept the notion that one's own grammatical categories are not universal is no simple matter. Learning lexical categories may be a step higher in sophistication, but these categories should receive systematic treatment and be brought under the student's control on his route toward nativelike fluency in a foreign language.

PREDATOR OR PEDAGOGUE?: THE TEACHER OF THE BILINGUAL CHILD

James W. Ney

The teacher of the child whose native language is not English must confront daily a child who is not only linguistically different but also culturally different. Thus the teaching situation takes on a complexity which extends far beyond the frustrating barrier of mutual linguistic unintelligibility. The dominant culture so often represented by the teacher permeates the classroom making teaching difficult for the instructor and learning well nigh impossible for the student. Just how that dominant, mainstream culture views at times the culturally different, or culturally disadvantaged child is demonstrated in Mark Twain's, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. At one point in the story, Huck is constructing a tale on how he came up the Mississippi on a steam boat. Supposedly, the boat had grounded making Huck late. At this point Huck says:

"It warn't the grounding—that didn't keep us back but a little. We blowed out a cylinder-head."

"Good gracious! Anybody hurt?"

"No'm. Killed a nigger."

"Well, it's lucky; because sometimes people do get hurt."¹

Now, I'm quite sure that Samuel Clemens was not trying to promulgate his own ideas about the status of negroes. He was merely mirroring the

¹ Mark Twain, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (New York: P. J. Collier and Son, 1912), p. 306.

Dr. James W. Ney is Associate Professor of English at Arizona State University at Tempe. He was associated formerly with the English Language Center at Michigan State University. Dr. Ney has published widely in scholarly journals and has co-authored, with S. Imamura, a series of advanced reading materials for the students of English as a second language. Dr. Ney has participated actively in professional conventions in Illinois, Nevada and Arizona.

ideas of the society about which he wrote; somehow in this society, blacks, as representatives of the culturally and linguistically different peoples, were not even accorded the status of human beings.

Among those of us involved in the process of education, it is very unlikely that the culturally different, for us, would be excluded from the race of human kind. But, nevertheless, for many of us, who through years of education have been steeped into the cultural tradition of the English speaking peoples especially through intensive study in British and American literature, subtle, more insidious and invidious forms of discrimination creep into our thinking making us predators during the times in which we should be pedagogues. For instance, in the report of the NCTE "Task Force" on *Language Programs for the Disadvantaged*, the statement is made that "without the experience of literature, the individual is denied the very dignity that makes him human."² (Undoubtedly, since the task force was sponsored by the National Council of Teachers of English, the literature referred to is English literature if not in explicit statement yet still in actual practice.) Even the term, *culturally disadvantaged*, clearly signals that those who use the term are the possessors of "culture" and that they will maintain their superiority by dispensing this culture to those who do not have it. It probably is no exaggeration to say that every culture and sub-culture known to man has had the attitude: "No doubt, we are the people and knowledge perishes with us."³

Not long ago, a graduate student who is also a teacher of Mexican-American children submitted a paper to me in which she suggested that "people new to the language or culture should not be made to look any less equal than they are . . ." In another instance reported to me, a professional teacher referred to the members of a non-Anglo-Saxon segment of the community as being "disorganized." Now, what all of these statements mean, of course, is that given middle-class white American concepts of culture, members of other cultures seem "disadvantaged," "less equal" or "disorganized." Within themselves, these cultures are in no sense disorganized, less equal or disadvantaged. Most cultures known to man are quite capable of dealing with the environment in which they are found. By objective standards, such as the incidence of peptic ulcers or mental diseases among the members of the culture, some cultures are superior to the white middle class American culture.

Nevertheless, if the teacher of the bilingual student carries into his or her classroom the attitudes of the cultural group of which he or she is a member, the learning of the students can quite easily be impaired. If a child is to learn well, he must have a positive self-concept. Martin Deutsch states this quite clearly when he says that

the self-image is vital to learning. School experiences can either reinforce invidious self-concepts acquired from the environment, or help to develop—or even induce—a negative self-concept. Conversely, they can effect positive self-feelings by providing for concrete achievements and opportunities to function with competence, although initially these experiences must be in the most limited and restricted areas.⁴

These positive school experiences are important because, as Ketcham

² Muriel Crosby et al., *Language Programs for the Disadvantaged* (Champaign, Ill.: The National Council of Teachers of English, 1965), p. 222.

³ Job 12:2.

⁴ Martin Deutsch, "Some Psychological Aspects of Learning in the Disadvantaged," in John M. Beck and Richard Saxe, *Teaching the Culturally Disadvantaged Pupil* (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1965), p. 64.

and Morse have pointed out, "an improvement in children's self image and self esteem will make them easier to teach."⁵

Consider the plight of the so-called bilingual child. On the playground he is often surrounded with playmates who through their ethnocentric attitudes denigrate his cultural background and destroy whatever positive self-concept he might have. This same student goes into the classroom and that same classroom exudes the same kind of cultural ethnocentricity that the playground has. The teacher quite likely has not yet learned that as Spaulding points out "the self-concepts of elementary school children were apt to be higher and more positive in classrooms in which the teacher was 'socially integrative' and 'learner supportive.'"⁶ And the results of this are tragic. Knowlton has very pointedly asserted that some Southwestern school districts "have the honor of graduating students who are functionally illiterate in two languages."⁷

If this is so, the question then arises "How can the role of the teacher be changed from that of a predator, preying upon students from a position of cultural egocentricity, to that of a pedagogue, aiding the student through learner supportive and socially integrative practices and procedures?" One possible answer to this question lies in the adoption of a truly bidimensional bilingual program, a program which requires the English speaking child to become bilingual as well as the non-English speaking child. It is bidimensional because the bilingualism moves in two directions: the English speakers learn Spanish, for instance, and the Spanish speakers learn English. The highest expression of bidimensional bilingualism is the bilingual school in which the English speakers study mathematics and the history of Latin America in Spanish and the Spanish speakers study science and the history of the USA in English. In such a program, the sociological context of the non-English speaking child is altered so that he is no longer one of the cultural have-nots; he is suddenly the possessor of a very important skill which his monolingual English speaking peers would very much like to have and which they can gain only with some difficulty. In other words, if Peter is required to learn the Spanish language and if he is expected to pursue the study of academic disciplines in that language, his attitude towards Pedro is going to be changed. To Peter, Pedro becomes a linguistic genius who can utter hard-to-pronounce sounds with the greatest of facility. Pedro is also seen as the possessor of cultural artifacts which often appear quite exotic to the culture-bound Anglo-American. Peter's attitude towards Pedro, the teacher's interest in Pedro's culture and the difficulty that Peter has in mastering Pedro's language all help to give him a more positive self-concept and a better chance to learn.

Strangely enough, opposition to bidimensional bilingual programs does not come merely from politicians, school administrators and citizens who suffer from xenophobia or similar maladies. Some descendants of foreign born Americans who have attained upward mobility through total immersion in the Anglo-American community feel that their progeny must succeed by travelling the same path even to complete denial of their cultural and linguistic heritage. Although this method of cultural and linguistic assimilation, a sink or swim method, has succeeded for some in the past, it has not necessarily been effective for large segments of the population.

⁵ Warren A. Ketcham and William C. Morse, "Dimensions of Children's Social and Psychological Development Related to School Achievement" (Ann Arbor, Mich.: The University of Michigan, Cooperative Research Project No. 1286, 1965), p. 206.

⁶ Don E. Hamacheck, "What Research Tells us about the Characteristics of Good and Bad Teachers," *Human Dynamics in Psychology and Education* (New York: Allyn and Bacon, 1968), p. 190.

⁷ C. S. Knowlton, "Bilingualism--A Problem or an Asset," ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 010 744, December, 1965.

There have always been those among the cultural minorities who have failed to learn English as a second language or they have learned it very badly. These have clung to their social and linguistic past because of the difficulties incumbent in the total assimilation with the help-of-heaven-and-a-long-spoon approach. There is, however, at least one other approach. Experiments such as the bidimensional bilingual program at Coral Way elementary school in Miami have demonstrated that the system of public education can help members of cultural and linguistic minorities in their struggle for acceptance in the cultural mainstream. Evidence for this assertion comes from the parents of children involved in the project. Some parents who kept their children out of the bilingual program at Coral Way for the first year insisted that their children be placed in the program during subsequent years.

But what of the school districts and systems which will not permit bidimensional bilingual programs? What can the teacher do if he or she is in a school system which is unwilling to institute a bilingual program? Teachers in such schools can always adopt a token bilingual program in the classroom as long as the teacher is master of the classroom. Pedro can be requested to introduce his English speaking fellow students to the strangeness of Spanish greeting formulas such as *buenos dias* or *adios* and to the word games and puzzles which occur in many languages such as *ere con ere sigarro*. With a little bit of ingenuity and some training, the teacher can have the class doing pattern exercises with Pedro or Juan as the informant. In fact, token bidimensional bilingualism may be the only possibility in situations where one of the two languages involved in the teaching situation does not have an extensive literature in published form. It might be rather hard to find a textbook for third graders on Navaho history written in the Navaho language for beginning students of Navaho although for the French, or Spanish, or German students there should be no such difficulty.

Teachers of the bilingual child can also help to give the non-English speaking child a more positive self-concept by acquainting themselves and their students with certain facets of the cultures which are represented by many of their students. Consider, for instance, the difference in outlook of the Anglo-American and the Indian-American.

In the American way of life, those of us who are carried along in its social stream are future oriented. We think in terms of what is ahead. In contrast, those whose lives are governed by the values of the Indian life are oriented to the present.—“the exultation of the now.” The non-Indian life is one of “conquest over nature” as against the Indian way of “harmony in nature.” Another way of comparing them is to describe the former as existing in a state of anticipation, while the latter finds nothing to look forward to and feels that the essence of living is found in the present timelessness.⁸

It is impossible, of course, to say that one way of looking at life is better than another. It may be that the Indian way might lead to less mental ill-health or that the Anglo-American way leads to greater material prosperity. But until such time as an absolute standard of *good* or *bad* is established in evaluating cultural world views, teachers and students alike should treat the members of culturally different minorities with deference and thus aid them in their adjustment to the mainstream culture.

⁸ Hildegard Thompson, *Education for Cross Cultural Enrichment* (Washington, D. C.: US Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1964), p. 14.

Nor should anyone forget that the first inhabitants of this land were thrifty, industrious and quite capable of living orderly lives within the time cycle that was important to them. It may be true that they have lost these characteristics after their initial contacts with certain elements of the Anglo-American culture. It certainly is true that third cultural traits have developed universally when two cultures come in contact with each other. Nevertheless, as Brody and Aberle point out, the Indian American is not going to be helped by the kind of thinking that insists that "assimilation" of Indian Americans to the Anglo-American culture "can be achieved merely through the Indians' adopting certain attitudes to their white neighbors. For example, it is said that all that is necessary is for the Indians to be thrifty, to acquire habits of diligence, and to learn the importance of punctuality. . . . Yet by the standards and needs of their own culture, the Indians historically have been economical, hard working and appreciative of time."⁹ And the same might be said of the members of other sub-cultures in American society. For all of the students, the teacher, to be a true pedagogue, needs to be "integrative" and socially "supportive" from the basis of a knowledge and understanding of the native language and culture. Furthermore, an egalitarian attitude should be manifested by the teacher in all contacts with students.

One other hard-to-recognize problem forces the teacher of the bilingual child into the role of predator. This problem can most easily be labeled: *Failure to recognize the existence of a problem.* Many teachers conclude after talking with a student for a few minutes that he has no language problem. They neglect to reckon with the fact that a student's language problem may not be immediately observable. More than a few students whose native language is not English pick up "playground English" from their fellow students.¹⁰ They then have adequate facility in the language to communicate readily with a teacher on mundane, everyday matters. But they are in no way equipped to deal with the academic English of textbooks and written compositions.* Dropout rates for some schools may, perhaps, give some indication of the truth of this proposition. For instance, the dropout rate for one school in the Phoenix area was as follows for the year 1969:

TABLE I: DROPOUT RATE BY ETHNIC GROUP

	Anglo-American	Spanish Surname	Indian American
ETHNIC GROUPING OF DROPOUTS	60%	37%	3%
ETHNIC GROUPING OF ALL STUDENTS	92%	7%	.3%

A careful reading of Table I raises questions such as the following: Why is it that although students with Spanish surnames constitute only 7% of the student body, 37% of the dropouts have Spanish surnames? Similarly, why is it that although Indian Americans made up only .3% of the student body, 3% of the dropouts are Indian Americans? Supposedly, if there were no ethnic imbalance in the dropout rate, since 92% of the students are Anglo-Americans (and others) 92% of the dropouts would be Anglo-American. Similarly, if 7% of the students have Spanish surnames, only

⁹ William A. Brody and Sophie D. Aberle, *The Indian: America's Unfinished Business*, (Norman, Oklahoma: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), p. 5.

¹⁰ This idea was first suggested to me by Mrs. Grace Blossom, President of the Arizona Bilingual Council, 1969.

* Cf. also R. Kaplan, "A Teacher's Guide to Connected Paragraph Construction for Advanced Level Foreign Students," pp. 50-61, below. [Note of the Editor]

7% of the dropouts should have Spanish surnames. But it is not so, and one of the reasons might be that a great number of students with Spanish surnames have second language problems.

Another way of looking at a similar set of statistics but for different schools is as follows:

TABLE II: THE RELATION OF ETHNIC GROUPING
TO DROPOUT RATE

Percentage of Drop Out Students	Anglo-American and Others*	Spanish Surname
School 1	2%	22%
School 2	8%	12%
School 3	9%	13%

Again, for each of the schools reporting, persons having Spanish surnames dropped out of high school at a greater rate than those who do not have Spanish surnames. For this group, it is quite possible that second language problems contribute to the greater dropout rate of the students having Spanish surnames.

Recognizing the existence of a problem, however, is only the first step to take towards a solution. Finding the tools to use in moving towards a solution can be an important second step. For this step, unfortunately, most teaching materials currently in use are not completely adequate. In the past decade or two, materials have been developed for the foreign students entering American universities. Furthermore, series developed for the public schools have concentrated on raising the non-native speaker of English to the linguistic level of a 12-year-old-native at best. In addition, these materials concentrate largely on oral language. Even if these texts are supplemented by series such as the Miami Linguistic Readers, the student is still not raised to a level of proficiency equivalent to that of his Anglo-American peers in the higher grades. Textbooks modelled on the Imamura-Ney *Audio Lingual Literary Series* (Ginn/Blaisdell 1969) could be used in the high schools to great advantage. These texts present a unified approach to the teaching of reading, written composition, and oral language skills. They do this for the non-native speakers of English by tying language exercises into literary texts and readings. For instance, one of the texts uses an article from the *Saturday Review* on the subject of automation. Students read the article both in and out of class and then perform exercises in pronunciation, grammar and writing together with reading comprehension, using the language patterns and forms from the article which they have just read. Similar texts to these, incorporating recent advances in the study of linguistics and psychology, could be of great help to the teacher of the non-native speaker of English in the schools.

Besides these, instruments of measurement need to be used in the public school situation to determine whether or not students are partially bilingual or whether one linguistic system is stronger than another. Wallace E. Lambert and his associates at McGill University have developed tests which identify linguistic dominance or the extent of bilingual balance. One of these tests, the word association test, measures the speed at which students associate words with cues in each of the linguistic system that they command. The rapidity with which they make associations and the number of associations that they make in either of their linguistic sys-

*In schools numbered 2 and 3, other minorities heavily influenced the dropout rate in this column.

tems gives some indication of the strength of the system. Tests like these should be used quite widely in the public schools.

So then, in the current situation, at least three areas merit the special attention of the teacher of the bilingual child. These are (1) the development of bidimensional bilingual schools and classes, (2) an increasing understanding of the non-Anglo-American cultures in this country coupled with a use of this understanding in the classroom, and (3) a recognition of the fact that students with a grasp of "playground English" cannot be expected to cope with the problems created by the use of academic English in the classroom. Materials and teaching methods must be developed to aid the student in his attempt to grapple with the kind of English used in the textbooks and by the teachers in the classroom.

Section 2: Bilingualism

BILINGUALISM IN PUERTO RICO: A HISTORY OF FRUSTRATION

John C. Fisher

The Treaty of Paris, which concluded the Spanish-American War, saw the United States, for the first time, with territorial lands which were culturally different and geographically distant. Congress's Foraker Act of 1900, which replaced Puerto Rico's military occupation with a civil legislature partly provided by Presidential appointment, allowed limited Puerto Rican participation in its own government. In 1917, a new Organic Act, the Jones Act, increased island participation in its own affairs, offered U. S. citizenship to those Puerto Rican inhabitants who wished to have it, and gave a bill of rights to the island. It was not until 1947, however, that the people of Puerto Rico elected their own governor who was now given the power to appoint all executive heads of departments, including a Commissioner of Public Instruction.

The history of English teaching and bilingualism in that fifty-year period, and since, has been in large measure the history of public education itself. And it has been a history of frustration. There seems to be little doubt that until 1947 each Commissioner of Education was appointed to the island primarily because of his stand on the role of English in the schools. At the time of his appointment each Commissioner seems to have felt that English should be the medium of instruction for at least a majority of the school years. Many soon gave in, however, to the difficulties of teaching in a language foreign to the native Spanish of the students. Before and since 1947, the teaching of English has been an important issue in Island politics and "the most controversial subject of the curriculum."¹

When M. G. Brumbaugh was appointed Commissioner of Education in Puerto Rico by President McKinley in 1900, it was already policy to teach in English whenever possible. Brumbaugh found, however, that with few English speaking teachers available it was best to teach in Spanish through the first eight grades, and in English in the secondary schools. As realistic as this system was, it was not sanctioned by a U. S. government that seemed committed to assimilating Puerto Rico into its North American culture. By 1903 political pressures called for English to be the medium of instruction in all grades and President Theodore Roosevelt's new appointee, Roland Falkner, complied. For the next fourteen years the use of English made steady but controversial progress. Many students in the elementary grades found understanding to be difficult or impossible, and learned neither Spanish nor English well. Although the situation was hardly the decisive factor in the Puerto Rican politics of the time, it undoubtedly contributed to the popularity of the pro-independence Unionista party, which went undefeated from 1904 to 1924.

¹ Juan José Osuna, *A History of Education in Puerto Rico*, Rio Piedras: University of Puerto Rico, 1948, p. 415.

Dr. John C. Fisher, Executive Secretary of the New York State English Council from 1968 to 1970, is Professor of English and Coordinator of Linguistic Studies at the State University of New York College at Oswego. During the fall of 1970 he was Visiting Professor of Linguistics at Inter American University, San German, Puerto Rico. Dr. Fisher has published articles and books in the field of English as a second language and remedial English.

In 1917 Spanish was reinstated as the medium of instruction for the first four grades, since this was the terminating grade for most students. In the early 1930's, however, Commissioner José Padín fostered a study which bore out his suspicion that instruction in English was detrimental to learning. He noted that Puerto Ricans "were paying an enormous price in the acquisition of . . . knowledge . . . for the doubtful advantage of enabling our students to practice English through their Geography and History lessons."² By 1934 all subjects, except English, were taught in Spanish in the first eight grades.

In 1934, with the appointment of President Franklin Roosevelt of Blanton S. Winship to the governorship of Puerto Rico, Americanization was reaffirmed and English again became the language of instruction in all grades. Two years later Padín resigned. In a letter to José Gallardo, his new Commissioner, Roosevelt, perhaps without intending to, summarized the Puerto Rican English language problem, past, present and future:

Puerto Rico came under the American flag 38 years ago. Nearly 20 years ago Congress extended American citizenship to Puerto Ricans. It is regrettable that today hundreds of thousands of Puerto Ricans have little and often virtually no knowledge of the English language. . . . It is an indispensable part of the American policy that the coming generation of American citizens in Puerto Rico grow up with complete facility in the English tongue. It is the language of our Nation. . . .

Puerto Rico is a densely populated Island. Many of its sons and daughters will desire to seek economic opportunity on the mainland. . . . They will be greatly handicapped if they have not mastered English. . . . Clearly there is no desire or purpose to diminish the enjoyment or the usefulness of the rich Spanish cultural legacy of the people of Puerto Rico. What is necessary, however, is that the American citizens of Puerto Rico should profit from their unique geographical situation . . . by becoming bilingual. But bilingualism will be achieved . . . only if the teaching of English . . . is entered into at once with vigor, purposefulness, and devotion, and with the understanding that English is the official language of our country."³

Gallardo, in spite of strong opposition by popular political leaders of the island to making English the official language of the schools, attempted for several years to implement Roosevelt's attitude. But in 1941 the experience of several years caused him, like others before him, to restrict English as the medium of instruction to the secondary schools. Roosevelt had not told him how to achieve his goal, and school officials lacked the money, the expertise, and even the inclination, to enter into bilingualism with "vigor, purposefulness, and devotion."

The political dimension of the English language continues to this day. In 1948, soon after the governor was able to choose his own Commissioner of Education, Spanish became the medium of instruction in all grades, with English taught for one period a day. With double sessions—and only three total hours of instruction—in many of the schools, the period has often been only thirty minutes long. The resulting change in the English proficiency of the population is striking. As one goes about the cities and towns of Puerto Rico today, one notes that those people who were graduated from the secondary schools before the 1950's are among the best speakers of English. Their proficiency level is hardly native, and those who went on to study in the States note that they had minor difficulties "for three or four months";

² José Padín, "English in Puerto Rico," *Puerto Rico School Review*, San Juan, 1935, p. 8.

³ April 8, 1937, as quoted in Osuna, pp. 376-7.

but among the sixty or seventy Puerto Rican business and professional men of this writer's acquaintance, the comprehension proficiency seems to average out at about ninety percent, with production at about eighty percent. They are generally agreed that studying secondary school subjects in English did not prove to be a detriment.

Those people who have been graduated within recent years are obviously much less proficient in English. In at least one university in Puerto Rico, seventy-five percent of the entering freshmen are unable to carry on a simple conversation in English, in spite of the fact that the texts being used throughout the elementary grades dictate an oral approach. That same university, until the present time, has taught more than fifty percent of its classes in English. Because this now causes an undue hardship on students, it will soon begin a three-track curriculum. Upon entrance a student may choose a program which will be offered only in English, only in Spanish, or in a combination of both. It is expected that only the English Department will offer all courses in English, and that most other departments will offer their courses in Spanish.

The question of whether or not it is necessary for Puerto Ricans to learn English is no less pertinent—and aggravating—today than it was in Roosevelt's day, and it is without doubt a part of the greater question of the future status of Puerto Rico. By common consent of Congress and the people of the island, the present Commonwealth could become either an independent nation or the fifty-first state. It may also retain its present political status. Supporters of the Commonwealth claim that there is harmony between the valuable qualities of the U. S. with its social and economic progress, and Puerto Rico with its agrarian and ethnic traditions. Puerto Ricans, too, accept the principles of democracy. Spanish is the language of instruction in the schools, they say, but there is a period of English instruction each day. There are English language radio and television stations, and one English language newspaper. These are offered as evidence of Puerto Rico's bilingualism. The evidence, however, can be compared with the reverse situation in New York City, which offers Spanish-language mass communication to the Spanish-speaking community. One can hardly think of New York City as bilingual. Both Spanish and English are spoken there, but the overwhelming majority of people speak only one language with ease.

Statehood, according to the United States-Puerto Rican Commission on the Status of Puerto Rico, "would necessarily involve a cultural and language accommodation to the rest of the federated States of the Union. . . . This does not require the surrender of the Spanish language nor the abandonment of a rich cultural heritage."⁴ The suggestion is obvious. In order for Congress to allow statehood, the people of Puerto Rico would have to achieve a higher degree of bilingualism than presently exists. In his supplemental views, Senator Henry M. Jackson noted that "The unity of our Federal-State structure requires a common tongue. . . . Surely, at a time when we are trying to eliminate ghettos of all kinds, we should not establish within our Federal-State system a 'language ghetto.' . . . The continuance of Spanish as a second language would not be inconsistent with this requirement."⁵

Some independence advocates claim that their agrarian and ethnic traditions can flourish only if they are freed from the influence of the United States. But the movement is not the most popular one in Puerto Rico. It has claimed no more than ten percent of the voters in recent years. In 1967, when

⁴ United States-Puerto Rico Commission on the Status of Puerto Rico, *Status of Puerto Rico*, 1966, p. 15.

⁵ *Status of Puerto Rico*, p. 22.

a revitalized pro-independence element in the Department of Public Instruction attempted further to restrict the teaching of English to two periods a week, the opposition was heard throughout the island. An overwhelming majority of people in Puerto Rico seem satisfied with Commonwealth status, and the present Governor, Luis Ferre, and his party tend to view statehood as inevitable. Although the Governor won his election in 1968 with less than a simple majority, he has nevertheless been able since then to work quietly and efficiently to bring the dream of his statehood party to fruition.

The Puerto Rican people are indeed homogenous. They share a common religion and a common Hispanic language and heritage, and because of their insular situation they are likely to retain their culture even better than mainland subcultures like the Pennsylvania Dutch. The fact remains, however, that the Puerto Rican society is rapidly undergoing a change from agrarian to U. S.-oriented urban. Puerto Rico remains politically and economically linked, as it has for over seventy years, with the United States.

The frustration of the seventy-year-old bilingual movement now rises as a spectre, not only on the island, but also in the urban areas of the Atlantic Seaboard where Puerto Ricans gather to make new lives. The first eight months of 1970 saw the heaviest emigration of Puerto Ricans to the U. S. since 1950. More than 90,000 left home in that period.⁶ In the past ten years the number of islanders in the States has more than doubled. Over a million reside in New York City alone, which now has a total Spanish-speaking population estimated at nearly two million—22% of the city's residents. As a result, Manuel A. Casiano Jr., director of the New York City office of the Commonwealth Migration Division claimed last fall that housing, employment, and educational opportunities for New York City's Puerto Ricans have dwindled. A product himself of the city schools, Casiano noted that an unprepared educational system has contributed to the deplorable situation: "When I was a youngster, maybe we had 5 Spanish-speaking children in a class of 40. . . . Today, in many city schools, the situation is reversed. . . . In a situation like that it's almost impossible to help the Spanish-speaking children get by." He sees a broad bilingual system as the only solution.⁷

In the same month Casiano spoke, November 1970, New York City made another substantial move in its constant attempt to overcome the monumental language problem. It began bilingual programs in 113 schools. Both Spanish and English are being taught to native children and to children of Puerto Rican origin. The effectiveness of the program was questioned, however, before it began. At a November 23 Senate committee hearing, Antonia Pantoja, founder of *Aspira*, a nationwide Puerto Rican community organization, claimed that the mainland's two million Puerto Ricans were "the poorest silent minority" in the nation, "incapable of participating in American society and facing total alienation from it." Severely criticizing the federal government and the nation's schools, she suggested that the only solution may be to create an educational system that would especially tend to the needs of Puerto Rican children who "do not speak English." She noted that 50% of Puerto Rican children in the States do not finish school, and called the bilingual programs "pitiful." "To people who have failed in teaching English the federal government is giving several millions so they can now fail in teaching two languages, Spanish and English." She warned the committee that "Puerto Rican youth is becoming more militant as a result of its feeling of desperation."⁸ There is some indication, then, that government may still be unable to deal with the problem.

If bilingualism fails in New York City and if it continues to fail in Puerto Rico, the immediate cause may be what it likely has been since 1898.

⁶ *San Juan Star*, October 25, 1970, p. 15.

⁷ *San Juan Star*, November 6, 1970, p. 3.

⁸ *San Juan Star*, November 24, 1970, p. 3.

As in Brumbaugh's day, qualified English teachers are at a premium. Most teachers in Puerto Rico and in the States—including teachers of English—are not prepared to teach a language. Daniel Portelles, director of bilingual programs in Brooklyn's District 14 pointed to this problem in San Juan during a recent Department of Public Instruction-supported conference on educating Puerto Rican children who live on the mainland. He stated that many of the island's children arrive in New York with "a poor understanding of the Spanish language and practically no knowledge whatsoever of English. . . . Many of the children are illiterate in both languages." He noted that 75% of Puerto Rican teachers who apply for positions in New York City fail to pass the qualifying examinations.⁹ The cause of this may be that in some districts of the island most elementary school teachers have only a provisional certificate. They teach without even a normal school degree. And their pay scale is so low they have little opportunity to take course work toward a bachelor's degree.

It seems imperative that Puerto Rican teachers have some training on the mainland, if only to acquire a standard English pronunciation. One recently retired Puerto Rican district supervisor of English, of this writer's acquaintance, estimates that over ninety percent of those responsible for teaching English have too little acquaintance with the language. Many cannot read the teacher's guide in their English textbooks. Their only experience has been the thirty to fifty minutes a day in the elementary and secondary schools. These teachers have never engaged in a conversation with a native speaker of English. Elementary school teachers, after all, do not major in English in college; and most secondary school teachers who do, never leave the island.

In spite of generally good texts, written especially for Puerto Rico with the consultation of the late Charles Fries, little English is being taught. In an unofficial test conducted in one school district several years ago, third graders were examined at the end of the year to determine the extent of their reading ability. The third grade English text is designed to teach beginning reading. The results showed that approximately fifty percent of the children could not read a single word of English, and twenty-five percent recognized only several words. Only the remaining twenty-five percent read at grade level. The following year, after the teachers had been encouraged to use the materials provided for them, and had been visited periodically, seventy-five percent of the third graders read English at their grade level. Much of the language problem, then, seems to be perpetuated by teachers who still lack the "vigor, purposefulness, and devotion," mentioned by Roosevelt.

The situation in the States is hardly better. Most teachers of Spanish-speaking students are not qualified to treat the problem. Although New York City now certifies elementary and secondary school teachers in English as a Second Language, relatively few qualify. There are signs, however, that the problem is at least—and at last—being attended to, in both Puerto Rico and the United States. The Puerto Rican Department of Public Instruction, under the direction of Commissioner Ramón Mellaño, is granting aid to 425 men and women to improve the teaching of English. Many of them who have lived in the States, and who are bilingual, are being prepared to teach English in the elementary grades, where the need is presently the greatest. These young people teach in the schools while they are enrolled in undergraduate linguistics programs that will provide them with degrees in teaching English as a second language.

Universities that train teachers are also beginning to recognize the need for undergraduate and graduate programs that will prepare their students

⁹ San Juan Star, October 21, 1970, p. 6.

to teach English in Spanish-speaking areas. The State University of New York, while it has lagged behind Columbia and New York University, promises now to move forward in both graduate and undergraduate study. The units at Albany and Cortland are preparing teachers of English as a second language in graduate programs. Cortland, with its emphasis on sociolinguistics, is especially suited to train people for the urban areas. These two graduate programs are supplemented by undergraduate programs in linguistics offered by Stony Brook, the University at Buffalo, Binghamton, and Oswego. While most programs offer only limited work in applied linguistics, Oswego's is designed so that the student who wishes to teach English as a second language may do much of his work in that area.

The future, then, may be less bleak than the past. Better days may come with better teachers in the classrooms. This writer is reminded of his high school teacher's solution for the world's problems: "Take a little Latin!" The answer to our social problems is not, unfortunately, "Take a lot of English." Prejudice and poverty will have their way. Perhaps, however, with more difficulty, if language is no barrier to a person's making his way in the world.

A story is going around Puerto Rico and New York about the New York City college senior, Mike, who was mugged near the campus last fall by three young Puerto Ricans. Mike gave up all he had—a nickel. Questioning his muggers, he found that they needed money to help a friend. So he took them to the dormitory where he was able to collect \$10 for them. In conversation with José, the one who had held the gun, Mike found that the young Puerto Rican had dropped out of school and hoping to get into the Marines had failed the English test. Mike offered to coach José and subsequently met his whole family in their South Bronx tenement. It was there that he readied José for the examination. By spring José will be in the Marines, and Mike will be back at his demonstrations for peace.

The story is true.

TEACHING ENGLISH TO AMERICAN INDIANS

Thomas R. Hopkins

It is a curious occasion when predominantly English speaking North American peoples discover, as has occurred during the 1960's and on into the 1970's, that language diversity might be a source of societal strength. In a sense, this is a sad discovery for the language diversity of twenty, forty and seventy years back no longer exists, at least not with American Indian languages. English is the lingua franca of most American Indian tribes today and indications are that the shift in this direction will continue until tribal speakers will be rare and unique. When this does occur, and in the opinion of this writer it is only a matter of time until it does, our current linguistic sadness will turn to linguistic despair. Even though their languages

Dr. Thomas R. Hopkins has written several articles pertaining to the teaching of English to American Indians. He is a native Texan turned Alaskan and recently, during the past four years, has been living and working in Washington, D.C. He is employed by the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs but states that this article is not a product of his official duties. He wrote the paper with the encouragement of Professor Carol R. Cyr of George Washington University where he obtained his Doctor's degree.

may be sacrificed in the process, it can be hoped that the dignity of American Indians so frequently portrayed will be assimilated into the American fabric so we can all lay claim to having sprung forth from the loins of North American soil and heritage—something to which only the Indian can now attest.

Be that as it is, the purpose of this discussion is to briefly outline English language instruction in schools for American Indians up to the 1970's.

Christian missionaries were the first Europeans to work extensively to establish and conduct schools for American Indians (Adams, 1946; Berry, 1968). Their hold over the schools continued down to the conclusion of the 19th century. The language policy of missionary groups was to teach English to the Indians in order to Christianize them. Exceptions to this policy were to be found among the Spanish missions in Mexico, the French missions of Canada, and the Russian schools for Alaskan natives. In this respect, Spanish, French, and Russian were the second languages. At the close of the 19th century English was the language of instruction in the majority of schools in the continental United States and the Territory of Alaska. This policy looked upon tribal languages as inferior and as a threat to the purpose of the school. It should be realized that most early missionaries to American Indians erected schools as soon as possible after having established themselves among the natives (Hopkins, 1970). Hence, schools (and consequently English) have from the beginning of the relationship between non-Indians and Indians been a symbol and an institution representing non-Indian behavior, and have been considered by Indians as existing for the express purpose of changing behavior of the young from Indian to non-Indian.

When the Federal Government assumed total control for the education of Indians it adopted the missionary language policy but for different reasons. The Government wanted to "civilize" the Indian and employed punishment to stamp out tribal languages. The various histories discussing early Indian schools are replete with expressions of this general approach.

The anti-tribal language policy existed until it was effectively disposed of by the famed Meriam Report (1928). This was followed closely by the New Deal and the creative policies of Commissioner John Collier. From 1932-1952 the policy of the Government was to encourage tribal languages and at the same time to develop special approaches to teaching English.

The language policy from 1952 to the present has been to recognize tribal languages as an intimate aspect of the child's behavior but to concentrate on teaching English (Bauer, 1968). Recently, during the past three years, bilingual programs which use both the tribal language and English in the primary years have again been started (Bauer, 1969).

In summary, until 1932 the English language policy in schools for American Indians was one that was more anti-tribal language than pro-English. The long-range effect of this, even though it was reversed in 1932, has been detrimental, to say the least.

Nineteenth century curricula for Indian children were the same as those for other common schools of the day. However, there were instances of creativity. One curriculum guide of 1904 sounds very modern in its suggestions concerning content selection in English, good pronunciation and plenty of practice until the children learn it (U. S., BIA, 1904).

The New Deal ushered in a group of innovators headed by Willard Beatty, who brought about linguistic studies and specialized instruction in English (Beatty, 1944, 1953). Robert Young, William Morgan, and Ed Kennard did basic linguistic work in tribal languages (Young and Morgan, 1945; Kennard, 1948), that was used in education programs. Hildegard Thompson, fresh from an experience in the Philippine Islands, developed manuals for

teaching English to Navajos that anticipated audio-lingual techniques. In fact, Thompson has written prolifically in English language pedagogy for American Indians (Thompson, 1962, 1965) and most all of it is practical and still pertinent.

The culmination of the twenty years, 1932-52, was the development of a set of curriculum guides called "Minimum Essential Goals for Indian Children." These were first published in 1952-55 and revised again in 1964 (U. S. BIA, 1953). A comparison analysis of the English language pedagogy and the "Minimal Essential Goals" found a fair degree of correlation between them and Robert Lado's 17 scientific principles of language teaching (Hopkins, 1964).

Special mention should be made of the 1960's as a decade of unusual significance in the English education of American Indians. First, most activity was centered on the very large (the largest) Indian reservation, Navajo. Early in the decade linguistic knowledge began to be incorporated into the curriculum. The American English Series was the first to be used and adapted to elementary children. Teachers participated in excellent summer training programs made available through the NDEA and EPDA programs.

Special curriculum development projects have been made possible through ESEA Title I and Title III. Currently, most teachers in Federally operated schools are at least knowledgeable of English linguistic structure and acquainted with basic ESL methodology. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) also conducts workshops in modern ESL pedagogy and did so before the NDEA and EPDA programs added their vital contributions.

Movements in English language education for Indian America have frequently been known by the individuals who have fought doggedly for them. Wayne Holm (1964), Dr. Elizabeth Willink (1965), and Ruth Werner (1966) are three who have done much to foster modern ESL pedagogy throughout Indian lands—starting in 1957 in Shiprock, New Mexico. All, of course, are under the influence and leadership of Dr. William J. Benham (1966), a Creek Indian.

There has also been significant activity in curriculum development, ESL testing and, more recently, research. Curriculum development is restricted mostly to the Navajo tribe. Adaptation of the American English Series has gone ahead and is still widely used. New interdisciplinary ESL materials are also being attempted. These are being done by Dr. Robert Wilson (1969) of UCLA and English Language Consultants.

No discussion of English for American Indians would be complete without mention of the assessment made by the Center for Applied Linguistics in 1967 (Ohannessian). This report has been followed rather closely and many of the recommendations have been implemented. To name one, the newsletter, *English for American Indians* (U. S. BIA, 1970) was started in the school year 1968-69 and is being continued. The research study in Reading in Navajo, being conducted by Dr. Bernard Spolsky (1969), University of New Mexico, is another recommendation of the CAL study.

ESL testing has progressed as never before. Dr. Elizabeth Willink (1969) conducted a project in ESL testing and produced one of the early prototypes for American Indian children. Dr. Eugene Briere (1970) of USC has done extensive ESL testing of American Indian children and is due to complete a special English language proficiency test for elementary school children during the school year 1970-71. His work has involved five language groups and has ranged from the Eskimo of the Arctic slope to the Choctaw of Mississippi, to the Hopi and Navajo of Arizona. Using preliminary data from Dr. Briere's test it is estimated that 63 percent of the children enrolled

in schools operated by the BIA speak English as a second language. Additionally, TOEFL has been administered to several groups of Indian high school students and all tend to reflect the same pattern reported by Hopkins (1967) which pertained to Fort Wingate High School on the Navajo reservation. There are numerous reports of conventional achievement test scores that have been compiled especially during the past five years. So far they all reflect the same pattern reported by Coombs (1958).

Other developments in Indian education in the United States include the creative writing project sponsored by the BIA through ESEA Title I program. T. D. Allen (U. S. BIA, 1969, Curriculum Bulletin #2), a well-known author in the Southwest and a very gifted teacher, has teamed with John Povey of UCLA to develop a creative writing project in high schools operated by the BIA. The project produced one book of student writings at the conclusion of the first year and a teacher's manual to assist teachers in the classroom. This is one of the very creative approaches to the secondary English language problems of American Indian students.

The Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) professional organization was contracted by the Navajo Area of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to evaluate their English as a second language program. The report has been finalized and submitted to the BIA. Five recommendations have been made and deal with teacher training, relationship between ESL and the regular English language arts program, student attitudes, flexibility in the adoption and use of materials, and employment of language specialists (Harris, 1970). It should also be noted that teachers from Indian schools are very involved in professional activities in the English language arts and have been consistent contributors to professional journals for at least the last 25 to 30 years.

Bilingual education, mentioned briefly above, has emerged during the past four years with, again, major efforts being made on the Navajo reservation. Rough Rock Demonstration School (Johnson, 1968) run by a Navajo school board, has done much to foster bilingual schooling. The BIA has also started another Navajo bilingual program at the kindergarten level that was conducted during the school year 1969-70 in six kindergarten classrooms. This program will be expanded to include the first grade during the 1970-71 school year. The BIA in Alaska is also mounting a bilingual program in isolated day schools in the Bethel (lower Kuskokwim and Yukon River region) area of Alaska. This project is dealing primarily with the Yuk dialect of Eskimo.* All the bilingual programs have been well planned, involving community consent and approval along with cooperation between educators and linguists.

As most specialists in bilingual education have pointed out, non-linguistic factors are more frequently than not the crucial issues in the success of a program. This has been the case in those which have been started during the past three years by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Careful planning has accompanied each (Ohannessian, 1968). In fact, current bilingual programs have benefited from community involvement, cooperation of linguists and educationists as well as from a general popularity as a desirable method of schooling culturally different children. Yet, they have at times almost floundered due, in the opinion of this writer, to the fact that Indian and Alaskan native peoples have been taught over the decades that their native languages have little utility in a school setting. Many times it is the community people who have questioned the efficacy of bilingual programs. This is a sad but nonetheless a true occurrence. In this respect, Indian people have almost passed the readiness stage for bilingual programs and it is problematic that those currently starting will ever reap the benefits that could have accrued

* It is too early for published documents describing these two projects.

had those started thirty years ago not been interrupted by the Second World War.

It should be recognized that the content of this discussion pertains primarily to those American Indian children who attend Federal schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This represents about one-third of the total estimated national population of Indian children. Bureau of Indian Affairs schools enroll approximately 50,000 children and youth, ages 5-21 (U. S. BIA Statistics, 1969). The remainder attend public and mission schools with the vast majority being enrolled in public schools. It is difficult to isolate data on Indian children and youth who attend public schools. The policy of "Termination" which was followed during the 1950's and on into the 60's sought to turn operations over to public schools as soon as possible. For several years no data were kept on the children other than a mere head count. However, recent concern for Indian children in public schools has been expressed and some studies have been conducted to determine school dropout and achievement. The studies report that Federal schools have better holding power for Indians than do the public schools but that achievement of Indian students in public schools is higher. It is hypothesized that the higher achievement is reflected as the poor achiever drops out or transfers to the Federal school which has a greater toleration for his Indianness (Aurbach, 1970).

A brief comment on Canadian Indian education shows that they too are experiencing vigorous developmental activities. Education of Canadian Indians and Eskimos started in earnest during the 1950's. Previous to this time education among the Indians was confined to the reserves in the more populated provinces with only limited opportunities available for children in Northern Territories. The Indian Affairs Branch of the Dominion Government had primary responsibility and the basic approach was to finance school operations to institutionalized Christian churches. The policy of church-controlled operations is only now experiencing change and, rather than shifting to the Dominion Government, the shift is to provincial control of Indian education (Northian, 1969-70).

The language policy for Canadian Indian education had more variety than that of the United States. Canadian Indians in schools operated by the Indian Affairs Branch had English as a second language and French as a second language options. Rose Colliou (1958) (Singleterry, 1969), Language Arts Specialist, of the Indian Affairs Branch, developed a set of ESL materials for Canadian Indian children that, among teachers in that system, was (is) very popular. It should also be noted the Colliou materials are popular with the teachers of Alaskan natives in isolated day schools where English is a second language.

Perhaps the most comprehensive survey of the conditions of Canada is given in the Hawthorn Report (1967) which treats almost every side of Indian life. The recommendations pertaining to the language situation in Canadian Indian education are presented under the general subtitle, "Special Educational Services." Of the six recommendations under this section, the first four pertain to the language situation. It calls for special courses in ESL pedagogy for teachers of Indian children, the use of linguistic studies (linguistic knowledge) in teacher training programs, remedial courses in Indian schools and curriculum guides and materials on Indian languages. These recommendations are similar to those made regarding the American Indian education situation.

The shift from Federal to provincial control of Canadian Indian education is surrounded by much politics and at times it becomes very heated. Often linguistic policy is at the heart of political moves. The Quebec Eskimo language project represents an effort by the province to teach school in the first four years in Eskimo, then, giving the community the option of English or

French as a second language starting in the fourth grade. They have developed Eskimo language instructional materials and have started implementation (MacGregor, 1969). The Northern Territories section of the Dominion Government was developing Eskimo language instructional materials and has an orthography that is based on sound linguistic knowledge (Indian Affairs Branch, 1967).

The Ford Foundation, The Arctic Institute of North America, along with the support of some of the governments involved, sponsored a first conference in August of 1969 in Montreal. The meeting was called, "Conference on Cross-Cultural Education in the North," and included an international group of educators, natives, linguists, and government officials all involved with education at the top of the world.

Though not intended, informal comparisons made during the conference indicated that those countries using bilingual education for the longest period of time had a more viable school situation than those which did not. Countries represented at the conference were Canada, United States, USSR, Sweden, Norway, France, Finland, and Denmark. A report on the conference is to be published sometime in 1970-71.

In closing, it can be seen from the above that the field of teaching English to American Indians has been very active over a considerable span of years. In fact, the role of language in the schooling of Indian children and youth has always been emotionally laden and somewhat of a fulcrum for success. It is unfortunate that bilingual education has not been a basic assumption in the process as it reflects more than language instruction in a native tongue—it carries and ascribes dignity to the child. Closing on a bilingual note might seem strange for an English language journal. However, experience has shown that bilingual education might be an effective avenue to English fluency for American Indian children and youth.

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ENGLISH LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION IN IRAN

Jeris E. Strain

A characteristic description of the person who is the product of overseas language instruction is that his speech is often unintelligible due to poor and incorrect pronunciation, what he hears is not clearly understood and must be repeated several times, his writing reflects confused syntactic patterns, unlearned grammatical concepts, and misused lexical items, and his reading is not only painstakingly slow, it also lacks comprehension.

All of this the individual achieves in approximately four hours of English language instruction per week often over a period of some six years. Such a wasteful squandering of good intentions, time, effort, money and potential is seldom if ever matched in other fields of education.

Paradoxically the English language has steadily gained itself a stronger and firmer foothold in many nations during recent decades, thanks to such factors as an American or British presence, economic and status incentives closely related to business, medicine, and higher education, the search for technological progress, and the availability of English language films, music and literature.

And all of this comes together in the form of an ever increasing demand for English language instruction, scattered flurries of activity, and individual instances of dedication. Very rarely is there a positive and systematic effort of sufficient magnitude to establish quality instruction or if improvements are introduced, to maintain them until they become viable institutional practices.

Dr. Jeris E. Strain is Senior English Instructor at the Integrated National Telecommunications System (INTS) Training Center in Tehran, Iran, where he is directing a TESOL Program for Iranian students and coordinating the production of teaching materials specifically designed for speakers of Persian. His previous posts include a position in the Pahlavi-Pennsylvania Program of University of Pennsylvania, a Fullbright lectureship in English at Hiroshima University, Japan and a Visiting Associate Professorship of English at Pahlavi University, Shiraz, Iran. Dr. Strain has published a number of articles in Language Learning and IRAL.

Iran as a nation has included bilingualism in the objectives of its educational system, particularly at the higher education level; moreover, it has and is taking measures to insure that this objective is attained. Implementation of the measures, however, has been very slow to take form and even more difficult to maintain, especially since inertia and tradition have merged with a rapidly increasing demand for instruction, a demand which is itself hamstrung by a lack of quality teachers, by a lack of quality teaching materials, and by misunderstandings about the essentials of second language teaching and learning.

From the standpoint of linguistics English should not be an overly difficult language for a speaker of Persian to learn. The phonology of the two languages is fairly similar: Persian has a six vowel system whereas English has an eleven vowel system, there are two diphthongs to be mastered, (*cow*, *boy*), and the consonant system of English contains only three major elements to be mastered (*we*, *thin*, *this*), three that are basically articulatory learning tasks.¹ The morphology and syntax of English present a somewhat different range of learning tasks for speakers of Persian than they do for speakers of other Indo-European languages; however, in the main these also appear less complex than those characteristic of speakers of Slavic, Germanic, and Romance languages. The Arabic element in Persian does introduce complexities; however, these appear to be largely lexical in nature.² Learning the English alphabet, on the other hand, not to mention English spelling requires a great deal of effort on the part of the Iranian, both in terms of learning a new system of symbols to represent sounds and of learning a writing system that extends from left to right rather than right to left. Finally, while one may question the present adequacy of Persian as a language for communication within the matrices of science and technology, the language has long been recognized as a highly developed literary medium, particularly in the realm of poetry.

Be that as it may, English language instruction in Iran is weak. The Iranian student's six years of time, interest, and effort, not to mention that of the teacher, result with relatively few exceptions in actual language abilities which range from poor to mediocre. Conversely, the same students placed in intensive English courses outside Iran often excel in *apparent* language ability, a situation that unfortunately too often contributes to diminished efforts on the part of the student and to a seeming but largely superficial command of English.

While teaching-learning conditions in Iran may not be dissimilar from those in other parts of the world, they are much more extreme than Modern Language teaching conditions in the United States. Motivation, for example, is very high; more than 90% of the students elect to take English in preference to other foreign languages. Class size, teacher preparation, adequate textbooks and teaching materials, on the other hand, are very serious: class size often approaches seventy, a large percentage of the English teachers do not know English, and teaching methods and materials tend to be outdated or not understood.

American Efforts

American efforts to officially participate in the improvement of English language instruction in Iran date back to the establishment of the Iran American Society (IAS) in 1950.³ Two years later the English teaching sec-

¹ These learning tasks differ sharply from the mastery of such complex distinctions as /r/-/l/ among Japanese and medial /d/-/ð/ among Spanish speakers.

² See, for example, M. A. Jazayeri, "The Arabic Element in Persian Grammar," *Iran, Journal of Persian Studies*, Vol. VIII, pages 115-124.

³ Nye-Dorry, G., Memo to Peace Corps Director—Iran, October 6, 1964, 4 pages.

tion of the IAS had attracted a student body of three to four hundred students and by 1959 the number of students taking English courses had risen to nearly 4000. Today approximately 5000 students are taught English at the Iran American Society each day, an annual total of approximately 10,000 individual students.

Fulbright activities also began in 1950 and up until 1959⁴ consisted of providing a few English literature professors for various universities, study grants for Iranian English teachers to go to the United States for training in English and in TEFL methodology, and partial support for one three-week summer seminar for Iranian returnee English teachers and selected English teachers who had not yet been abroad.

In 1959 the Fulbright program emphasized the teaching of English in Iranian secondary schools and five American English teachers were assigned to the secondary school system. Under the able direction of Dr. Nye-Dorry, a Michigan trained linguist who had been actively involved in the IAS programs, these teachers visited schools and gave seminar classes for the Iranian English teachers in the cities where they were stationed. The following two years, 1960 and 1961, the Iranian Ministry of Education provided an Iranian returnee counterpart for each of the five American teachers and these teams traveled from town to town giving seminar classes which ranged from a few days in small towns to a month to six weeks in large cities. During the 1960-61 academic year alone these teams reached over 800 teachers of English in 52 locations.

Notwithstanding achievements such as this the program was discontinued in 1962, just as it had become known and had demonstrated its potential effectiveness but before it could prove itself. Instead of secondary school assignments, the 1962-63 Fulbright English teachers were sent to different universities. Since then due to Congressional action the Fulbright English program has shrunk to its present low of providing one American literature professor to one university—Tehran University.⁵

The Peace Corps initiated its English language program in Iran in 1962, the same year that the Fulbright program shifted its emphasis from the secondary school system to the university system, and it also responded to the needs of higher education by giving university assignments to its first group of TEFL Volunteers. Two years later, after considerable effort by Dr. Nye-Dorry, who was instrumental in developing this English program, also secondary school assignments were given to a group of fifteen TEFL Volunteers, most of whom reported to the chiefs of educational offices as special assistants in English teaching. In 1967 this activity expanded to a total of 135 English teachers concentrated mainly in the secondary school system. Since then it also has shrunk; moreover, two-thirds of the 65 TEFL Volunteers who now have secondary assignments will terminate by the Summer of 1971.

It was also in 1962 that the Point IV program, later USAID, expanded its activities to include a contract between Pahlavi University in Shiraz and the University of Pennsylvania. The goal of this relationship was the establishment of a modern institution of higher learning which would emphasize western science and technology, be bilingual and international, with English the second language, and attract to it many of the highly trained Iranian specialists who resided in the United States and England.

The primary role of the University of Pennsylvania has been to recruit Iranians in the United States for faculty positions at Pahlavi University and to recruit University of Pennsylvania faculty members for temporary

⁴ The Fulbright program was supplemented by the Smith-Mundt Act from 1958 to 1968.

⁵ A second American Literature professor transferred to Iran as a result of hostilities in Jordan.

appointments in priority fields at Pahlavi. Over the past four years these activities have led to appointments being offered by Pahlavi to 150 applicants out of 400 and this year alone there are twelve Penn faculty members teaching and working at Pahlavi. More recently the development of student and faculty exchange programs has been emphasized and there are now some twenty students and junior faculty members pursuing advanced degrees at Penn. Due to achievements such as these, a second five-year contract, financed entirely by Iran, was signed in 1967, when the USAID contract ended.

With regard to the Pahlavi English program, the goal of having a student body that is proficient in English as well as Persian remains a key objective of the university; in fact, it has become a goal of other Iranian universities as well. The textbooks used at Pahlavi, and in some of the other Iranian universities, are generally the same as those regularly used in American universities; the one main exception is Persian literature, history and culture. The assistance provided by the University of Pennsylvania in this field has consisted of a visiting applied linguist for 1965-1968 and the active recruitment of Direct Hire English teachers since 1967.

It is predictable when several agencies are involved in one type of activity that duplication of effort, confusion and potential if not actual politicking will take place, and in this respect Iran has been no exception. One brief example will suggest the nature of this problem for English language instruction. The same year that one university rejected a Fulbright grantee in favor of three Peace Corps TEFL Volunteers, another university had an English staff which consisted of a Fulbright Lecturer, a visiting professor from an American university, an Iranian professor just back from the United States, two instructors recruited by the British Council, several Peace Corps Volunteer instructors, one direct hire American instructor, and several Iranian instructors and assistant instructors.

Past Problems and Recommendations

Linguistic insights into effective language instruction have been and are available in Iran and numerous efforts have been and are being made; still, little if any improvement or progress seem to be taking place. The number of students studying English steadily rises, the number of English teachers gradually increases, new teaching materials appear from time to time, and official support for the learning of English continues; but instruction seems largely unchanged, at times worse. To break a lockstep where does one begin?

In the opinion of a Director General of Education in one province, eight factors have been at the root of the inadequate and unsatisfactory attainment of English language skills among Iranian students:

1. Overcrowded classes have prevented the teacher from attending to the individual needs of the students.
2. Most of the teachers, especially in beginning classes, have not possessed adequate knowledge of English nor skill to teach efficiently and effectively.
3. Some teachers have not been familiar with modern techniques of foreign language teaching.
4. Other teachers have not been able to make use of their training in the overcrowded classrooms.
5. Audio-visual aids have been insufficient and impossible to use with overcrowded classes.
6. The syllabus prescribed for the school has not been covered.

7. Students have lost interest because regulations have permitted them to graduate with a score of 0.25 (out of 20) in English if they receive a passing average in other subjects.
8. The misuse of textbooks has created inconsistencies and a lack of continuity in the English program.⁶

The opinion of a university English language teacher who has had to re-teach graduated students so that they could take university coursework in English or use English textbooks gives additional perspective:

1. The number of high schools has mushroomed but the supply of teachers to man them has fallen far behind the need.
2. Leniency has characterized academic degree programs and ad hoc teachers have been given teaching positions.
3. Inadequately prepared and uncertain teachers have passed this state of mind on to students.
4. Some teachers have stuck to a single textbook and a line by line translation, have had a very poor pronunciation, have taught some traditional grammar, or have refrained from giving written assignments which take time and knowledge to correct.
5. Students have not been taught to organize a composition, to spell the most common words, to punctuate a sentence, to express themselves in writing, let alone speaking, or even to write legibly.⁷

To remedy the situation, two objectives have generally been agreed upon as the most critical: raising the language skills of the teachers and acquainting them with modern techniques of foreign language teaching. The recommendations of the Director General were as follows:

1. Establishment of graduate programs at the universities for English teachers.
2. Reducing the number of students per class.
3. Frequent seminars for teachers during the year.
4. Study abroad scholarships for the better teachers.
5. Two- or three-month Summer Camps aimed at training teachers and providing them with an English language environment.
6. Simplified texts for high school students to use.
7. Audio-visual facilities for high schools.
8. Visits to high school classes by university teachers.
9. Communication between university teachers and high school teachers regarding university requirements and classwork.
10. Discussions with the authorities regarding the graduation examination regulations.
11. Consideration of whether four periods of English per week under overcrowded conditions are sufficient.⁸

The teacher's recommendations for improving the language ability and teaching skills of teachers were the following:

1. Revision of the curriculum of the older universities and the recruitment of more up-to-date professors.

⁶ Habibi, Bahman, "The Difficulties of Teaching and Learning English in Iranian High Schools," paper presented at the 1966 Pahlavi University Conference on the teaching of English in Iranian universities.

⁷ Motamed Fereydoun, "The Crisis of the Foreign Language Teachers in Iran," *ibid.*

⁸ Habibi, B., *op. cit.*

2. Increased enrollments for prospective language teachers and a more flexible time limit for completing academic requirements, but without sacrificing the quality of instruction.
3. A minimum command of 20,000 words for language teachers plus training in linguistics.
4. A minimum of one year of study abroad plus active participation in language clubs.
5. Coursework in the history of Western Civilization plus direct contact with the customs, manners, and cultural patterns of a given people.
6. Literary texts edited for the particular needs of Iranian students with footnotes on idiomatic expressions and mythological, biblical and historical references.
7. Discouraging the scholastic method of learning and encouraging surveys, narratives and essays based on personal experiences and opinions.
8. Rewarding merit with promotions related to student success in competitive examinations.⁹

Although both views agree to a great extent on several points, their basic concerns are clearly different, as they should be. Both address the university community and look to it for assistance in meeting common problems, rather than for criticism and academic critiques.¹⁰ While a few of their recommendations represent long range ideals, some controversial, others, particularly those of the Education Department, lend themselves to immediate implementation and reflect previous or ongoing efforts.

An example of an ongoing activity, one which illustrates several of the above points, is the Summer School sponsored annually by the Ministry of Education and the British Council. In 1969 this summer school was held in Mashad and had two basic aims: to improve the command of English of the participants, particularly their spoken English, and to improve their understanding and especially their use of modern methods of teaching English to first and second year classes. One hundred and forty lower secondary teachers of English were enrolled in the summer school and were given seven hours of classwork each day for three weeks. Their program consisted of remedial English, speech practice, demonstration lessons, lesson planning, teaching practice, methodology, and classroom skills and emphasized practical performance rather than formal lectures. Each class was limited to about fifteen persons.

At the beginning of the course roughly one-third of the students had a high level of fluency in English. A similar proportion had too low a level of English to allow them to profit from instruction in English and as a result were taught methodology in Farsi the second and third week. In addition, their remedial English program was increased and at the end of the program their English attainment reflected a 13-18% average raw score improvement over their initial performance, with some individuals reportedly attaining as much as a 25% improvement.

Improvement in teaching performance was difficult to evaluate; however, an indication of their achievement was demonstrated very effectively by teachers who at the beginning of the course had maintained that it would be impossible for Iranian teachers to use the methods and techniques advocated. Their statements were based on three basic classroom problems, two

⁹ Motamed, F., *op. cit.*

¹⁰ See also J. E. Strain, "Picking Out the Thorns," *Kayhan International*, June 26, 1966.

of which were mentioned earlier: that secondary English classes often consisted of up to 70 pupils and that the pass mark for language examinations was so low that it served as a disincentive to both pupils and teachers. The third problem was that the four hours of English per week were divided into one period each for translation, dictation, reading and composition, which made it impossible to implement a predominantly oral approach. Their practice teaching demonstrations at the end of the course disproved these arguments.

At the end of the summer school several recommendations were made regarding the problems to be faced by the teachers after they returned to their respective classrooms and found themselves confronted by attitudes of traditionalism among their colleagues, by teaching problems not dealt with in the summer school, and possibly by feelings of insecurity in their own classrooms. These recommendations consisted of a call for well-trained classroom inspectors, short refresher courses in regional centers, and future summer courses for participants from specific areas.¹¹

Present Possibilities

To attempt a statement on the current state of English language instruction in Iran is to tread on quicksand, for the balance between teaching needs and responses to those needs is very fluid. Nevertheless, a degree of progress may be taking form. Compared to a decade ago more universities are emphasizing English language programs for their incoming students; in addition to Pahlavi University one can now count Mashad University, Arya Mehr University and Tehran University, the largest university in Iran, as having made major teaching commitments to what is being referred to as "service English." Moreover, new institutions of higher education are emphasizing English in their curriculum; for example, the School of Commerce, the Iranian College of Management, which opened this fall, and two Electronics Technicians Schools, which are scheduled to open their doors early next year.

Efforts to cope with the problem of staffing now consist of a graduate program at Pahlavi University for secondary English teachers, an undergraduate TESL program in the Faculty of Education at Tehran University, which unfortunately seems to be being phased out even though it just began, and eleven regional teacher training centers which are to provide two years of training for prospective English teachers. These are in addition to the Teacher Training College in Tehran which now has a group of sixty third-year students in their English program, the University of Tehran which offers a graduate program in English literature, and the undergraduate English literature programs of several universities.

At the secondary level three developments have or are taking place. First, the examination regulation for high school graduation has been revised to a minimum score of 7 out of 20 in place of the 0.25 score previously permitted. Second, the high school program is being changed from a 6-3-3 system (elementary-lower secondary-higher secondary) to a 5-3-4 system (elementary-guidance school-high school), which will add an additional year of English instruction to the existing six. And third, a new series of English textbooks is being published by the Ministry of Education, a series that is to be more relevant to the instructional needs of Iranian students than the previously used British series (E. V. Gatenby, *Direct Method*).

While English language instruction in Iran has received support from many quarters, both official and private, its most valuable resource appears

¹¹ These illustrations are drawn from a British Council report prepared by their English Language Officer R. E. Wright, "1969 Summer School for English Teachers—Mashad," July 27, 1969, 6 pages.

to have been the wealth of scientific and technological knowledge that now exists in English. To nations which, like Iran, have set their sights on industrialization and the economic and social benefits that industrialization represents, this particular knowledge is prized very highly. Thus it is little wonder that the Shah of Iran has given personal leadership to the development of means by which this wealth can be made readily available to his people. Nevertheless, implementation takes time, especially when established attitudes are deep set and more or less antagonistic to change, and when rapidly increasing demands for education outpace both the supply and the training of qualified teachers.

With this as background, one may be permitted to conclude that English language instruction abroad, though obviously different, often appears both as complex and as compelling as the language itself.

Section 3: Curricular Innovations

TEACHING ENGLISH TO SPEAKERS OF OTHER LANGUAGES: PROBLEMS AND PRIORITIES

Mary Finocchiaro

(Adapted from the address given recently by TESOL President Professor Mary Finocchiaro at the first meeting of the new NEW YORK TESOL Affiliate [New York City, 11-11-1970])

The most challenging problem facing schools in every sector of New York State today is that of determining how best to help linguistically handicapped youngsters learn English well enough to function in a regular school program with profit to themselves and to their peers. The school's responsibility does not end there however. While its primary goal—in cooperation with other social and educational agencies—may be that of helping learners become well-adjusted participating school and community members it must also prepare the learners for their future roles as citizens, parents and workers.

On the surface, this may seem like a simple task. In reality it is fraught with frustration, feelings of failure and fear on the part of concerned school personnel and community leaders. There exists an urgent need to view the situation more realistically than we have done in the past lest another generation of learners become school "drop-outs" or "push-outs." In the following discussions I plan to concentrate on the elementary and secondary schools where problems are most acute. I shall not touch on programs for literate, motivated foreign students at the college level or those for adults-literate or illiterate—who are generally highly motivated.

Before discussing some of the factors that contribute to the retardation of a quick or easy solution to a complex, emotionally charged problem, I should like to take a few moments to recall and comment upon a few highlights of my own experience as an English as a Second Language teacher. You will thus realize that many of the factors impeding progress today have their roots in decades of inflexible dogma which has been allowed to go unquestioned by concerned teachers and parents; you will realize, too, that cultural and/or parent-school conflicts of fifty years ago find numerous parallels today.

When I started teaching English as a second language, the supervisor asked me to use the Basic English method. I remember receiving a poor teaching evaluation because I had had the temerity to teach the word "mirror" and I had compounded the felony by taking a pocket mirror out of my purse to use as a visual aid! When I was forced to translate Blood, Sweat and Tears to "red water from the body," etc., I thought "there must be another way" and began searching for it. It took a lot of soul searching and trials and errors to realize, of course, that there is not just one other way.

Dr. Mary Finocchiaro is Professor of Education at Hunter College of the City University of New York. She was Fulbright lecturer in Spain and Italy and Department of State lecturer in Poland, Yugoslavia, Turkey and Morocco. Dr. Finocchiaro has published a number of books in the field of English as a second language. Her articles on the same subject have appeared in important scholarly journals. She is the current national president of TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages).

Then came the period of the "mimicry and memorization" of long dialogues; of the priority of habit formation; and of thinking that meaning and vocabulary were secondary or even comparatively unimportant. The teaching emphasis was primarily on helping students learn the signals and develop habits of using the sounds and structural signals of English.

With the "New Key" enthusiasts of the late fifties, listening and speaking skills assumed priority and reading was deferred for *one hundred hours!* Teaching grammar rules was considered comparable to breaking one of the commandments; translation was not to be mentioned under any circumstances.

In the middle sixties, some scholars began to think that language acquisition had nothing to do with habit formation and that a cognitive-code theory of language acquisition should *replace* the habit formation theory. The late nineteen sixties found staunch supporters of either one *or* the other learning theory; of those who believed more in communication than in manipulation; of those who preferred a transformational generative grammatical analysis to a structural one. There is a proliferation of articles and books about renewed emphasis on meaning and about an *unstructured, free* choice of learning experiences on the part of learners because they possess their own built-in "capacities and strategies." The teacher has become the "facilitator" of learning rather than the "model" or "dispenser" of learning. She is the creator of a climate "in which learning can flourish." I could add countless new clichés but the result would be the same. Many conscientious teachers today are not only confused about their role but they also continue to feel unhappy about having to select one school or the other of linguistics or psychology. Their major concern remains that of doing an effective job of teaching English to speakers of other languages.

I have over-simplified shamefully but the fact remains that despite the heat generated by the thousands of arguments, experiments and claims, few people have been really happy about the outcomes of most of the programs in English as a second language. Despite carefully written "performance objectives," attention to "cultural immersion," "manipulation" and "communication goals," I think it is fair to say that there is widespread dissatisfaction with the results achieved in the past. Is it because we have not defined terms carefully or is it because we have accepted—without questioning—some of the "findings" of psychologists, sociologists or "educators" related to learning and teaching? In my opinion, it is a little of both.

I think it is also fair to say that 99.9% of all teachers of English as a second language want to fulfill their responsibilities to learners in terms of helping them to communicate and to achieve their aspirations and of making them well-integrated, well-adjusted human beings. Teachers want to be responsive to the needs and goals of the communities which they serve.

What stands in the way of establishing programs of excellence? Where do the problems lie? Some stem from the attitudes of the pupils themselves, of their parents and of some ill-informed teachers; some can be laid at the door of linguists, sociologists, anthropologists who have either allowed distortions of their principles to continue to flourish uncorrected or, worse still, have published "research findings" based on inadequate experimentation. A large measure of responsibility for failure must also be ascribed to educators and supervisors who have found it "useful" to make statements which, while giving parents and community leaders false hopes, give conscientious teachers feelings of insecurity; to wit, a youngster (no matter at what age he was admitted to school) needed only a few weeks in the school—in a regular classroom—to become fully "integrated"; reading grades jumped four years after use of this or that piece of equipment or technique.

Important though they are, I shall not touch upon pupil and parent attitudes and motivation. I am convinced that a good English program which gives students the skills they need to become part of the mainstream of the school, which strengthens their assurance that what they are learning is useful to them *now* and not just at some vague future time, is intrinsically motivating. And it would be the unnatural parent who were not caught up in the enthusiasm engendered by the feeling of success and achievement which he notes in his offspring.

Allow me to examine briefly instead some of the labels or statements which have done learners and their teachers no little harm. As I mention them in random order, I shall also note some obvious implications. Let me start with those things in which *I do not believe*.

1. *I do not believe*, for example that any learner is "culturally deprived."

All human beings have culture. All youngsters come to school with two priceless assets—their native language and their culture. I do not even believe that people are as culturally "different" as some would have us think. Teachers, curriculum planners and textbook writers should emphasize the universality of human values and should point out the role of geographical and historical factors in the development of cultural differences—if these do, in fact, exist.

2. *I do not believe* that children of low socio-economic status come to school without language and without concepts. It may take a longer time for the language they know to be brought to the surface but it can be done because *language is there*. Moreover, whether or not parents can "reinforce" the school's language activities, teachers still have the major responsibility for reviewing and "re-entering" the English that has been taught as often as feasible in varied experiences which will require the use of utterances of increasing complexity.

3. *I do not believe* that English can be acquired by osmosis. Even very young children need systematic language development unless they live in a predominantly English-speaking community where they interact constantly with their English-speaking peers. The mere sitting in the same classroom with English-speaking children is generally valueless (as far as language acquisition is concerned) without a carefully planned language program in which all the features of English pronunciation, morphology and syntax are presented and practiced intensively in activities appropriate to the maturity level of the learners.

4. *I do not believe* that the learners growth will be stunted if—at an early age—and with a sympathetic, skilled teacher—he is encouraged and helped to use a "standard" English pronunciation and grammar. *The majority of parents want this for their children.*

5. *I do not feel* that the judicious use of the learner's native language—by the teacher, a paraprofessional or a student "buddy" will have a harmful effect on him. The native language—used sparingly of course in ESL classes—will clarify needed directions or concepts, will orient the newcomer and more especially, will enable him to establish a more immediate rapport with some other human being in the strange classroom.

6. *I do not believe* that a contrastive analysis of English and the student's native language alone should determine the selection and gradation of the linguistic material to be taught. The items for initial presentation should not necessarily be those which contrast with those in the learner's native tongue. Not only may the learning of possible parallel features give him a greater feeling of security but there are, in addition, two other major considerations:

a) When English is taught as a *second* language; that is, for immediate use in the surrounding community, the items needed to help the learner function in the situation must be given priority.

b) Often the interference between the learner's native language and English may not be as serious as that caused by a partially learned feature of the English language and segments of the feature not yet presented or practiced. Learners often make false analogies because they try to apply partially or incompletely assimilated material to other contexts.

7. *I do not believe* that all teachers, particularly those in service for many years, should be required to learn the native language of their students particularly when they teach English to more than one ethnic group. I think it would be most desirable if all teachers learned to use expressions of greeting and concern and some of the requests and formulas useful in facilitating classroom management. The learners would be the losers, however, if teachers were made to feel inadequate in their task of teaching English and if their morale were lowered by such an unrealistic demand.

I would urge, nonetheless, that teachers gain some knowledge not only of the broad features of pronunciation or grammar which will cause problems in their students' acquisition of English but also of possible cognates in the two languages.

Prospective teachers *can* be expected to study a foreign language intensively, particularly the dominant foreign language of the community in which they plan to teach. Colleges serving community schools have a grave responsibility in pre-service training programs for teachers. They should introduce strong relevant courses in those foreign languages spoken by the minority groups in the community and should make these *required* courses for the Bachelors degree.

While we cannot expect teachers without previous extensive experience in foreign language to become bilingual enough to use the students' native language in teaching ESL or teach curriculum areas in the students' native tongue, we should insist that *all* teachers become *bi-cultural*. It is imperative that all teachers of ESL gain a deep insight into the life styles and cultures of their learners, even when more than one ethnic group is involved.

8. *I do not believe* that learners should be required to speak only about English culture in English.

It would be a great source of pride for them if they could talk about their culture in the target language. Such a procedure would serve another valuable purpose: that of enabling learners to perceive that English can be an instrument of communication in just the same way as is their native tongue. The insistence on "cultural immersion" as it has been advocated up to now is totally unrealistic, ignoring as it does, basic psychological principles of human learning.

9. *I do not believe* that units written for English language learners should concentrate primarily on aspects of slums or ghettos, where the non-English newcomers may be living temporarily. While I consider it important to start with children where they are in terms of ability, background, environment, etc., it is disheartening to see entire units in the English language devoted to vocabulary and concepts related to slum living. These might *occasionally* be used by a teacher whom learners consider *empathetic* as a point of departure for the introduction of language material. The emphasis in the curriculum (used in the broadest sense of the word) should be (a) making pupils and their parents aware that the learning of English may be one way of moving out of the slums; (b) giving them the skills and tools which are indispensable to further their education and (3) ini-

tiating projects with other agencies in the community which can serve not only to improve conditions but also to enable learners to use English which is meaningful and relevant to them.

I also question the advisability of books for young children written in so-called Black English. To begin with, not all black children speak Black English! Moreover, I am not convinced that this intermediate step of reading in the second *dialect* before reading in the standard dialect is necessary. Much more experimentation and discussion with concerned parents is needed before teachers are allowed to make widespread use of such books in their classrooms. Not enough has been written and said about the time and manner of making the transition to the reading in the standard dialect. Furthermore, English dialect speakers understand "standard" English when spoken or read aloud. We should not confuse the learning problems of the non-English speaker and the dialect speaker although some teaching techniques may be similar for both groups.

10. *I do not believe* that group IQ tests should be used as a basis for placing learners into any level or grade of an English program. All of us are aware that (a) most IQ tests are not culture free; (b) they do not test many of the facets of intelligence which should be included under the term of "general aptitude" (c) they should be studied with all other factors or records concerning the learner; and (d) results are often interpreted incorrectly. In any case, in an English speaking community, English *must* be taught to all normal pupils.

11. *I do not believe* that with the majority of learners above the ages of twelve or thirteen the ESL curriculum should require—as intermediate or terminal behavior—a mastery of all features of pronunciation. Any improvement in pronunciation at that age level will generally be gradual and not dramatic. The goal should be comprehensibility at all times but not necessarily allophonic perfection. With many learners, the inordinate amount of time spent on "drilling out" an accent which does not impede comprehension, could be more profitably used in other productive learning activities.

12. *I do not believe* that *functionally illiterate* students admitted to schools and placed with their age peers in the upper junior high schools or in the secondary schools can close the five-or-more-year gap without an intensive, specially designed program in English and in their native tongue.

And now let me turn to some facets of the ESL programs in which I have come to believe after several decades of teaching at all levels, observation of many classrooms and talks with teachers, supervisors and concerned parents.

Despite the extravagant claims made by some language schools, learning one's first language and one's second language are not the same. Every normal child learning his first language has an innate capacity for doing so but in learning the new language such factors as age, the duration of the learning period, the opportunity for using the new language, linguistic interference and attitudes require quite different approaches and techniques and may force schools to write quite different performance objectives as well as to modify terminal goals.

Professional leaders in our field and community resource persons must become increasingly aware of the fact that it is asking superhuman efforts of teachers to expect them to work with English-speaking children and language learners within the same classroom. The former may be reading at different "grade" levels; the latter may be at various levels of literacy not only in their native tongue but also in English. Each learner will be on a

different point on the continua of the English communication skills (listening with understanding, speaking, reading and writing).

Homogeneous grouping of English language learners for intensive English instruction for a flexible period of time; with a teacher well-trained in teaching ESL; with specially designed instructional materials; and with continuous evaluation of the learners' progress and of the program is the only viable organizational pattern at the present time. Even in this pattern, I am assuming, of course, that the ESL learners will spend at least two hours each day with native English-speaking youngsters in art, music, physical education classes and in other activities where a language deficiency is not a serious handicap.

Temporary homogeneous grouping which will accelerate the learners' admission to the regular school program should not be equated with segregation. I have seen ESL learners seated in classrooms with native English speakers but not involved in any way with the learning activities. That, in my mind, constitutes the worse kind of segregation.

"Pull-out" programs in which ESL learners come together from various classrooms for English instruction—unless carefully planned—do not provide long enough periods of intensive help; do not ensure continuity of instruction for the learners; and generally, do not make it possible for them to integrate the English they have learned in the special English class with that needed in the other curriculum areas.

Provision must be made for individualized instruction but it is essential that Boards of Education and other agencies assist teachers in the herculean task of preparing material which will enable learners to acquire the essential features of English phonology, grammar and lexicon and culture so that they can encode and decode language. While the material must be individualized according to need, blocks of material should be presented to the entire class whether the class is composed both of native and non-native English speakers or of ESL learners alone. This is necessary if the learners are to be given the feeling that they are part of a group and that they are capable of sharing experiences with their peers.

Emphasis in teacher education programs should be placed on the values of grouping and the techniques of group dynamics. Diagnosing individual pupil needs, identifying possible experiences to be shared, preparing materials and evaluating progress so that pupils can be moved in or out of groups as needed should all be included among the skills which a teacher should acquire.

The discrete items within the English program (pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary, cultural facts) should be presented and practiced within two major contexts: the every day authentic situations needed for living in the community and, as quickly as possible thereafter or *concurrently*, the basic vocabulary, forms and patterns required for effective participation in all the curriculum areas offered by the school for learners of that age level.

There should be no one inflexible approach or method for teaching English espoused by a teacher, school, education board or community member. Since we do not really know how people learn, the approach should be eclectic and should make provision for the possible different learning styles of pupils. For example, reading should not be deferred for a specific number of hours. All the pupil factors of age, literacy, need and motivation must be considered before determining the number of hours of possible deferment.

To illustrate further, grammar should be taught to pupils over the age of ten or eleven—not the traditional grammar rules but generalizations

based on numerous examples of the item being presented. It is naive of educators to keep discussing habit formation versus cognitive code theory. Both are necessary if students are to attain a desirable level of competence and performance in English.

Teachers should be permitted to discard or to modify techniques which they find basically counter-productive. To cite one example, asking students to memorize long dialogues without the further, judicious exploitation of the dialogue does not contribute enough to the growth of language ability and especially to the free, spontaneous use of English.

Colleges or other training agencies must help teachers acquire an understanding of and practice in: (1) helping students acquire reading skill at all levels; (2) adapting texts in all the curriculum areas for at least two or three levels of literacy and (3) exploiting happenings and relevant school-community situations which, "discussed" in English, will be motivating to learners.

We should study more fully and apply to programs in the United States the comparatively unfamiliar concept of registers which has gained currency in England and in many other countries. After a basic corpus of materials has been presented—adequate for functioning in the school and community—the language items selected for inclusion should depend, wherever possible, on the "felt" needs and aspirations of the learners. Since needs and aspiration change, however, learners must be taught *how to learn* so that they can continue their study of additional "registers" after leaving the school program.

After a thorough study of all the components which should be considered before instituting *any* program, a bilingual-bicultural program should be designed by all schools which will enable the ESL learner (1) to develop his native language not only for self-realization but also—with learners past primary school age—as a vehicle for learning basic concepts of living in the school and in the unfamiliar community; (2) to gain a deeper understanding of his cultural heritage as a source of pride and enhanced self-concept and as a means of accelerating his integration into the English culture; (3) to understand, speak, read and write English well enough to communicate with his English speaking neighbors; (4) to avail himself of all educational opportunities and to become part of the movement for upward mobility which our country offers.

Scholars in all areas related to the teaching and learning of ESL should be held accountable for specificity and clarity in reporting the results of their experimentation. Such factors as the numbers of persons involved in the experiment and the conditions under which it was performed should be carefully stated. Cautions or undesirable "side effects" should also be set forth. Too many educators or community leaders in the desire to be "innovative" rush to make use of the results of reported experiments without realizing that what may have worked with a small group or with one type of pupil population, with all the resources that are generally poured into an experiment, cannot be duplicated in their communities where the variables are not comparable.

Since a characteristic of many in-migrations is a high degree of mobility (due to such community factors as inadequate housing or poor vocational opportunities) leaders in the ESL field should cooperate in the preparation of a basic corpus of materials in English. This would make possible better placement for the learner as well as continuity of instruction and it would facilitate the conscientious teacher's task who must know "where learners are." (A proficiency test—while valuable—would not serve the same purpose.) Needless repetition of learned material could be avoided

when the need for newcomers is to move ahead as quickly as feasible. By the same token, the large gaps between what the teacher thinks the learner should know in grammar etc. and what the learner has actually been taught would be lessened.

Two comments should be added: (1) The basic corpus would have to be supplemented or modified depending upon the ESL and school program to which the learner seeks admission; (2) Forms for reporting the points on the corpus which the learner had reached as well as the degree of competence and performance in each of the features or skills would also have to be devised cooperatively and disseminated on a nation-wide basis.

Last but not least, while I am convinced that well-planned bilingual education programs should be expanded and that more efforts should be made within them to make native English speakers bilingual and bicultural, I should like to express other concerns. Some confusion seems to exist at the present time about the terminal goals of many programs; about the ESL component; about our obligation to other minority groups such as Turks, Poles, Italians or French who are coming to the United States in greater numbers.

If we believe honestly that bilingual programs have merit—and of course they do—and if we believe that every learner should have the benefit of equal educational opportunities, we cannot justify the exclusion of any groups.

Moreover, we should ask ourselves in this educational endeavor as in any other, questions such as, *Who is the learner we are considering?* (How old is he?; How literate is he in his native tongue?; How much previous schooling has he had? etc.), What is the dominant language of the community?, What human resources do we have to implement the program?, What will be the role of teachers and of paraprofessionals?, When do we start a bilingual education program? (For what age group, for example?) What curriculum areas should be studied in the learner's native language?, which in English?, When will the transition be made from the dominant language to English in the curriculum areas?, How do all the members of the community feel about the introduction of the program?, How can we ensure that a strong English component will be introduced and maintained? (After all, the learner is living in an English-speaking community.) How can we make sure that the learner's native language will be developed to his greatest potential?

Numerous other questions come to mind. There is no one right answer to any question but some answers may be considered undesirable because they have been borrowed from other communities without adaptation or, worse still, they have been born out of political expediency or community pressures.

In conclusion, let me talk briefly about the priorities mentioned in the title of this paper. Some are implicit in much of what I have said but I should like to single out four of them which in my judgment require immediate discussion and action:

1. The need for community orientation and involvement. For example, English speaking parents will want to understand why in some classes some of their children may not have a full day's instruction with the teacher because she will have to spend time to teach English to language learners. Parents of language learners will want to understand why their children are (or are not) placed in special classes; what the grading system means; what opportunities their children will have to enter college, etc. etc.

2. The need for viable language learning "centers" where English as a or in any building where large numbers of newcomers make such a center second language can be taught intensively. The centers can be within a

school, within a community (children might have to be bussed to a community center), within an agency but under board of education supervision desirable. All the safeguards for the learners of continuous evaluation, special curriculum, opportunities for shared experiences with English-speakers and others noted throughout this paper must be guaranteed.

3. The need for special programs for the older functional illiterate for whom the junior or senior high school may be the terminal point of instruction.

4. Most important, the need for colleges and other agencies to develop teachers and other personnel both at the pre-service and in-service levels who possess the skills, knowledge, insights and attitudes required in teaching English as a second language. It must be obvious by now that:

Being a native English speaker is not enough.

Loving the children is not enough.

Knowing the structure of the English language is not enough.

Becoming familiar with methods of teaching ESL is not enough.

All of these qualifications are essential but, more, much more is needed to teach a group of human beings English as a second language.

Our responsibilities in this area are grave and, as can be noted, multifaceted. The best thinking of many persons of good will *working together* is needed if the non-English speakers in our midst are to become bilingual and bicultural. For persons living in an English speaking community, a command of English is still the key to personal-social adjustment, to integration and to upward mobility.

We cannot afford to lose another generation of children. More than ever, our nation needs all its human resources functioning at top capacity. Teachers of English as a second language have a crucial role to play in helping our country to achieve its goal, and more important, in enabling the tapestry which is America to become enriched and more colorful by the contributions which newcomers can, and will make to it, if given the opportunities.

ESL—WHO NEEDS IT?

R. H. Hendrickson

My title is not meant to be a rhetorical question (as in "another faculty meeting—who needs it?") but a real one, and one which has not, I think, been asked often enough. On the one hand, there are a lot of students who need instruction in English as a second language but aren't getting it. It's true that the thousands of young Americans who don't speak English (or at any rate don't speak it very well) are finally getting some of the attention they deserve, and that the growing interest in ESL and related matters may justify some cautious optimism. But it is also true that many schools which should have ESL programs still don't have them, and that many others have only token programs which recognize the need without going

Dr. R. H. Hendrickson holds a doctoral degree of the University of Connecticut and is at present Associate Professor of English at Sonoma State College in California. He taught previously at San Diego State College and is co-author of The Harbrace Guide to Dictionaries. The areas of his scholarly interest are applied linguistics (especially sociolinguistics), lexicography, literary style and educational theory and methods.

very far towards meeting it. On the other hand, as ESL programs become more widespread, increasing numbers of students are getting ESL instruction who don't need it, and it is this problem that chiefly concerns me here, both because it has gone largely unrecognized and because it seems likely to grow more prevalent.

Let me cite a few examples. In a small town with a large Mexican-American population, an ambitious elementary school ESL program was recently announced. Only after it was well launched, with considerable fanfare and a sizeable commitment of Title I money, was it discovered that just two children in the entire school could not speak reasonably fluent English. In another elementary school, a first grade girl of Portuguese descent was sent to the ESL class after several weeks of near-silence, acute embarrassment, and other apparent evidence of an inability to use English. Several days later, the ESL teacher (who knew no Portuguese) was still wondering how to attack the girl's language problem when a trivial incident in class suddenly started her talking volubly—in perfectly intelligible English. In an urban high school, the ESL teacher sought to involve a particularly sullen and uncooperative Mexican-American student in a class discussion by pressing him to explain the meaning of a common Spanish idiom. Finally the student snapped (quite truthfully, as it turned out) "How should I know? I can't speak Spanish!" Other teachers, it seems, were using referrals to ESL as the shortest way to get Mexican-American "troublemakers" out of their classes.

While these cases are hardly typical, neither are they especially uncommon. I can report several other, though less dramatic, instances where the wrong students have been placed in ESL classes for the wrong reasons, and I assume that such instances are not confined to schools and school districts I happen to know something about. Sometimes, as in the high school mentioned above, ESL programs are misused knowingly and cynically, a practice about which little needs to be said; no one, I hope, needs me to tell them that this kind of thing is irresponsible and unprofessional. For the most part, however, students are wrongly assigned to ESL classes with the best of intentions. It's not that they're the victims of prejudice or callous manipulation; it's just that a lot of educators seem to be rather vague about what ESL instruction is supposed to accomplish and how to distinguish the students who need it from the ones who don't.

It is easy to understand why many teachers and school administrators are confused about ESL. Much of what they need to know to get their heads straight is buried in the literature of emerging disciplines like psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics, whose very existence may come as news to them. Then, too, as a doctor I know once observed, teachers tend to be strong on remedies but weak on diagnosis. Confronted with the conflicting demands of a society that is increasingly unsure about what education ought to be and do but wants the results retroactive to last year, they have an understandable weakness for catch-all "solutions" to problems they haven't had time to analyze very carefully. And the temptation to oversimplify in educating students from minority sub-cultures is particularly strong, since the reasons for their difficulties in school are especially perplexing and many are beyond the teacher's control. In this context, ESL is an educator's dream. An ESL program provides tangible evidence of a concern for the needs of minority students without posing any threat to the middle-class majority. ESL materials are readily available, and their use involves no fundamental shift in existing school routines. And at a time when the educational establishment is obsessed with "accountability," ESL is one kind of English instruction whose results are immediately visible, meaningful, and measurable. Small wonder, then, that ESL programs have

sometimes been embraced with more enthusiasm than discretion. But the trouble is that when ESL is used as a cure-all, it may wind up not curing much of anything. Indiscriminate assignment of students to an ESL program not only wastes their time and obscures the real nature of their language learning needs but blurs the focus of the program and blunts its effectiveness.

In defining the aims and limitations of ESL, it is well to begin with the obvious: regardless of whether or not a student comes from a "foreign language" background—that is, from a sub-culture where some language other than English is widely used—he only needs ESL instruction if he doesn't know English. And many such students do, in fact, know English, as demonstrated by their ability to use the language more or less freely in communicating with other people; that the kind of English they know may not be acceptable in school is beside the point. Some are natively bilingual. Others, especially among second and third generation Americans, have only a passive and fragmentary acquaintance with the language of their parents and grandparents, and thus for practical purposes speak only English. Even students who do not know English natively have often learned some form of the language by the time they get to school, though they may be more at home in their native tongue. And self-evident though it may seem, the difference between knowing some kind of English and not knowing any is worth insisting on, for its significance has not always been fully understood.

Implicit in the methods commonly employed by language teachers (including many teachers of ESL) is the idea that languages are learned gradually, bit by bit. If a student is trying to master French, for instance, his task is assumed to be essentially the same whether he knows only a little French or quite a lot: to increase the inventory of French words and forms he is able to use and understand. In fact, as the transformationalists have conclusively shown, this is very far from being the case. Someone who may be able to produce on cue even a very large repertoire of French utterances still cannot be said to know French so long as his use of the language is limited to the list of words and phrases he has learned. To know a language is to have the capacity for spontaneously combining its elements in an infinite variety of different (and often novel) ways. To gain this capacity is to internalize its underlying system, its grammar—in transformational terms, its generative rules.¹ And while control over the system of a language does not come instantaneously, in a kind of miraculous vision, neither is it merely a matter of degree. Rather, the shift from knowing a language as an inventory of forms, the way beginning students usually do, to knowing it as a generative system constitutes a kind of quantum leap forward in the student's progress toward competence in the language.

This fact about the nature of language acquisition has an important bearing on the design and administration of ESL programs. For it follows that the language learning needs of someone who has not internalized the generative system of English are very different from those of someone who has, regardless of how limited the latter's stylistic range may be. The primary need of those who have yet to gain control over the generative rules is to do so as soon as possible, and promoting this process should be

¹ Since teachers have sometimes confused knowing the grammar of a language with knowing how to talk about it, perhaps it should be stressed that the one is not dependent on the other. The key word here is *internalized*; while every speaker of a language knows its rules, relatively few can even begin to explain what they are, transformationally or in any other way. And even the most sophisticated grammars fall far short of accounting for all the details of the system.

the main objective of ESL instruction.² By contrast, the task of students who already know the underlying system of English is to refine and extend their control over the details of the system, and this is true (though in greatly varying degree) regardless of their native language, the dialect they happen to speak, or the social and situational variants they happen to know. If their English differs widely from cultivated usage or is heavily influenced by borrowing from another language, the generative rules they know may be somewhat different from those known to their teachers, say, or to members of the local bar association. But except in the most extreme cases, the differences will be confined to what transformationalists call the surface structure rather than the deep structure of the language, which is to say that they will be relatively trivial. For these students, then, learning to speak more like teachers or lawyers will very seldom involve major alterations in the generative system of the language as they know it, though it may mean learning the details of a markedly different dialect.

Unfortunately, the fundamental difference between learning a second language and learning alternative forms of the same language has tended to be obscured by certain developments in the teaching of standard English as a second dialect. In the early sixties, it was found that techniques borrowed from second-language teaching, notably pattern drills, produced striking results when used in teaching standard English to speakers of nonstandard dialects.³ This discovery has led many educators to conclude that, for practical purposes, nonstandard dialects are the same as foreign languages and present the same kinds of pedagogical problems. This notion has seemed especially credible when the nonstandard dialects are associated with and influenced by foreign language communities. Thus, I have heard school administrators argue in all seriousness that whether a student speaks Spanish or a Spanish-influenced dialect of English, it amounts to the same thing and the same "remediation" is called for. Lately, such gross oversimplifications have prompted strong dissent from some of the most vigorous advocates of second-language methods in second-dialect instruction. For example, Virginia French Allen has recently written that "to anyone who uses English of any sort for everyday communication, English is not a foreign language" and that "teachers in second-dialect programs had better remember that."⁴ To which it may be added that ESL teachers had better remember it, too.

Ironically, part of the confusion probably arises from the fact that such devices as pattern drills are generally much better suited to teaching second dialects than second languages. Where the aim is to replace a limited number of nonstandard forms with standard ones, exercises in the standard patterns, though depressingly mechanical, may do the trick (always provided, of course, that the students want to learn standard English in the first place). But such exercises, while they continue to be widely used in second-language instruction, are too narrow in focus to be of much value in learning the underlying system of an unfamiliar language unless they are sequenced to impart such knowledge inductively, and this has not often

² How to go about doing this is not part of my subject, but readers who are interested in the application of transformational theory to language teaching methods and materials will find it discussed in several essays by Leonard Newmark, David A. Reibel, and Leon Jakobovits which are reprinted in Mark Lester's *Readings in Applied Transformational Grammar* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970).

³ The most significant experiments along this line are described in San-su C. Lin, *Pattern Practice in the Teaching of Standard English to Students with a Nonstandard Dialect* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1965).

⁴ "A Second Dialect Is Not a Foreign Language," in *Report of the Twentieth Annual Roundtable Meeting on Linguistics and Language Studies*, ed. James E. Alatis (Washington, D. C.: Georgetown University Press, 1970), p. 191.

been the case. In any event, learning a second language and learning a second dialect are emphatically not the same thing, regardless of how many teaching techniques may usefully apply to both. And there is certainly no reason to think both can be taught in the same class at the same time. Hence it is a matter of some importance that ESL programs be limited to teaching students English who don't already know it. Other students from foreign language backgrounds who do know English but don't know as much of it as they need should not be ignored, of course. But they should be able to get help with standard English as an alternative dialect or with reading or with written composition somewhere else.

The problem remains of determining whether students who come from non-English-speaking sub-cultures do in fact know English, and what kind of English they know, and how well they know it. Teachers often seem rather naive about the difficulties of assessing their students' language capability, tending to confuse knowledge of English with the ability to use standard English in school situation. Thus, if Puerto-Rican or Mexican-American students say little or nothing in class, their silence is often taken as *prima-facie* evidence that they know little or no English.⁵ Conversely, if they do talk, any conspicuous use of nonstandard forms is likely to be regarded as showing how little English they really know, rather than how much. Either way, their command of the language is apt to be seriously underestimated. So I would like to conclude by emphasizing the difference between what linguists call *competence* and *performance* and the significance of that difference in deciding what kind of language instruction students need.

Without getting technical about it, a person's linguistic competence is roughly equivalent to his language-making potential, to what he is capable of doing with the language when all systems are go. Performance obviously depends on competence, but because the human language-making faculty seldom operates at 100% efficiency, performance usually falls short of competence in some degree. How far short depends on a great many extralinguistic variables. For example, a speaker's performance may be noticeably affected if he is sick, drunk, stoned, tired, angry, frightened, euphoric, or any one of a number of other things, singly or in combination. It may also be influenced in various ways by unfamiliar or uncomfortable or threatening social situations. In the extreme case—stage fright, for instance—otherwise highly articulate people may literally be struck dumb. Now, the ultimate aim of language instruction is to improve competence rather than performance. For while performance varies widely, competence determines the upper limits of its effectiveness, and improvement in competence usually leads to overall improvement in performance. The trouble is that competence can be measured only indirectly, through actual performance, the unpredictability of which makes it an unreliable index at best.

The picture is further complicated by the difference between what Rudolph Troike has called *receptive competence* and *productive competence*.⁶

⁵ Some educators, unable to elicit much more than monosyllables from Negro children, have even reached the astonishing conclusion that they scarcely know any language at all. For an instructive account of the reasons for the childrens' unresponsiveness and the educators' misinterpretation of it, see William Labov, "The Logic of Non-Standard English," in Alatis, Op. Cit., pp. 1-48 and also in Alfred C. Aarons, et. al., *Linguistic-Cultural Differences and American Education*, a special anthology issue of the *Florida FL Reporter*, Vol. 7 (1969), pp. 60 ff. Though Labov's account is confined to the language of the black ghetto, much of what he says applies equally well to the dialects of other racial and ethnic minorities.

⁶ "Receptive Competence, Productive Competence, and Performance," in Alatis, Op. Cit., pp. 63-73.

At the simplest level, this distinction is a commonplace of everyone's linguistic experience. We all understand the meanings of utterances we can't produce ourselves. To cite only one example, we comprehend without much difficulty the speech of people whose dialects are quite different from our own and whose pronunciation we can't begin to duplicate. Yet the myth persists in educational circles that a student who can't speak standard English can't read it, and that if he is unable to talk back he doesn't understand what he's hearing. Should he read a written text aloud in his own nonstandard dialect, his teacher may well assume that he has read it "incorrectly," whereas his ability to translate into his own brand of English, rather than merely parroting the forms on the page, is in fact the clearest kind of evidence that he knows what he's reading. Unfortunately, receptive competence not only can't be measured directly but is often exceedingly difficult to assess indirectly. Still, it is a salient part of what it means to "know" a language, and shouldn't be disregarded. Most of us, after all, have—and need—vastly more receptive than productive competence, whatever our linguistic background may be, and language would be a far more limited and less effective means of communication if this were not so. Then, too, receptive competence is the first step towards acquiring productive competence; without it, language instruction is unlikely to get very far.

Having pointed out some of the difficulties teachers face in evaluating the linguistic competence of their students, I wish I could offer some easy way around them. Regrettably, I don't know any. All I can do is to suggest extreme caution and an acute awareness of the many influences that may inhibit language performance in the classroom, particularly if the speaker comes from a minority sub-culture. For many such students, school is an alien and hostile environment where they are made to feel uncomfortable and insecure, and teachers are strange beings whose language and behavior are frequently quite unaccountable. Furthermore, the school is an agency of a majority culture which constantly puts them down for being who they are and for acting and speaking the way they do. And most of them are well aware that there is a special variety of English appropriate to the classroom but that little in their experience prepares them to use it with anything approaching ease and confidence.⁷ Is it any wonder that their language performance in class commonly reveals more about their alienation and intimidation than about their English? In many cases, it is only in unguarded moments in the hall or on the playground, or even away from school entirely, that such students will begin to reveal the real extent of their ability to use English.

As happens with discouraging frequency when language scholars address educators, the main burden of my argument seems to be that the subject is a lot more complicated than has generally been recognized. Indeed, there are many complications I haven't touched on at all. I wish it were otherwise, but the complexity is there and must somehow be dealt with. Just knowing about it and trying to deal honestly with it is bound to help in making ESL programs more successful. And perhaps my remarks will at least discourage some teacher somewhere from packing a student off to the ESL class just because his name is Pedro and he stares at the floor and scuffs his toe every time he's called on to speak in class.

⁷ On this point, see Susan B. Houston, "A Sociolinguistic Consideration of the Black English of Children in Northern Florida," *Language*, Vol. 45 (1969), pp. 599-606. Though her work is, like Labov's cited earlier, confined to the language of Negro students, it seems obvious that the distinction she observes between what she terms the school and child "registers" of English is not restricted to the black community.

**COMPOSITION AT THE ADVANCED ESL LEVEL: A TEACHER'S GUIDE
TO CONNECTED PARAGRAPH CONSTRUCTION FOR
ADVANCED-LEVEL FOREIGN STUDENTS**

Robert B. Kaplan

The literature in English as a second language has expanded at an incredible rate over the past twenty years; indeed, annual bibliographies like those published by the Association of Teachers of English as a Second Language ran to approximately one thousand items a year in 1966 and 1967,¹ and the volume has increased since then. The great bulk of this production unfortunately still focuses on the elementary and intermediate levels and still allows greatest attention to spoken language and to grammar. Relatively little has been done with reading and even less with composition. The advanced level has largely existed in a vacuum, because it is difficult to define and because it exists in a grey area where the traditional pedagogy of freshman English seems viable.

It has long been my contention that advanced level composition constitutes a critical area; one which cannot be ignored nor left to the pedagogy of freshman composition. It goes without saying that the problems of a non-native speaker are quite different from those of a native speaker who is to some degree illiterate. In no sense is any ESL course "remedial" since remediation implies correction or counteraction of an existing evil, the cure of an ill, the corrective measures, applied in supplying omissions. The non-native speaker does not need remediation in English any more than the native English speaker may be considered to receive remediation when he studies French or Spanish. His problem is not that he has been taught his native language imperfectly, but rather that he is being asked to acquire a second language (whether he has been taught that imperfectly or not).

Perhaps it is necessary to point out briefly what is involved in the acquisition of a second language. If a language may be defined as the ideal means for the community of its speakers to relate themselves to the phenomenological world in which they live, then the acquisition of a second language really requires the simultaneous acquisition of a whole new universe and a whole new way of looking at it. This activity cannot be defined as remedial, nor does it lend itself to the pedagogy of traditional composition instruction. (There is even some question whether traditional pedagogy in composition accomplishes anything even for the native speaker.)

Obviously, no single pedagogy will suffice for all populations in all circumstances. It is clearly important for given instructors dealing with specific populations in unique circumstances to devise objectives appro-

¹ *Bibliography of Materials for Teachers of English as a Second Language*. Prepared under the Auspices of the Field Service of the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs and the Association of Teachers of English as a Second Language: Los Angeles, 1966, 1967.

Dr. Robert B. Kaplan is Director of the English Communication Program for Foreign Students and Associate Professor of Linguistics at the University of Southern California. Dr. Kaplan is the current President of the California Association of TESOL and Consultant in English as a second language for the Field Service Program of the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs. Professor Kaplan has published some fifty articles in various journals and is the author of a number of textbooks in the field of English as a second language.

priate to the population and the circumstances. For the purposes of this discussion, it may be assumed that the population consists of non-English speaking individuals of heterogeneous linguistic and national backgrounds, politically distinguished as "foreign" by visa status, who have chosen to attend an institution of higher learning in the United States. These individuals will probably range in age from about eighteen to the mid-forties, but the mean age is probably in the mid-twenties. They will be largely males, and they will range across the whole academic spectrum both in class standing and in major field of study. These circumstances obviate the possibility of a rigorously contrastive approach or of an approach tied specifically to an academic discipline in content.

In terms of proficiency, the members of the population probably have relatively large general vocabularies, very large vocabularies in the restricted codes of their respective academic disciplines, and typically larger receptive than productive vocabularies in both areas. They probably control the syntax to the point at which they may be considered "fluent speakers of a non-standard." Specifically, they control basic word order and basic sentence patterns well, although they still probably make frequent mistakes with articles, prepositions, and semantic restrictional rules. Nevertheless, they clearly do not need additional intensive instruction in spoken language or in grammar *per se*.

The members of this population probably have already undergone anywhere from six to fifteen years of formal instruction in English as a foreign language prior to coming to the United States. In addition, they have probably undergone anywhere from six to twelve months of intensive formal instruction in English as a second language after arrival in the United States. They are likely to enter the advanced level either in the second academic semester or in the second academic year after arrival. This fact tends to lessen the significance of culture shock as a factor in advanced level instruction and further tends to obviate the need for the inclusion of orientation in the curriculum. Thus, the curriculum may be considered semi-intensive, and the members of the population may be encouraged to undertake other academic work for credit simultaneously. However, the other academic work must be encouraged intelligently. It would be unwise to start another foreign language concurrently, for example. Probably the concurrent work should be generally limited to those disciplines commonly considered to require lower-level language proficiency like mathematics, physics, engineering, chemistry, and physical education. (The concept that certain disciplines require lower level language proficiency is a bit of folk linguistics; what the concept really means is that the student can operate within a clearly and rigidly restricted linguistic code and that the instructors in those courses—for whatever reasons—are likely to demand less in terms of linguistic ability; i.e., as long as the student can solve a given numerical problem, he need not be able to explain in words how he arrived at the solution, or as long as he possesses a certain dexterity and can demonstrate it by means of a specific skill, he need not be able to verbalize it. Obviously, symbolic logic and the mathematics derived from it are very closely language-related, but that appears irrelevant in the designation of particular courses in mathematics and physics as essentially "non-verbal.")

The objectives of such a course are to enable the members of the population to write acceptable compositions for a variety of academic purposes; e.g., to pass required courses in English, to write essay examinations in humanities and social studies classes, to write theses and dissertations, etc. This objective necessitates the use of an essentially expository style and generally precludes the use of "literature" in the English Department

sense. (Writing about literature indeed constitutes the use of a special restricted code in exactly the same sense that writing about chemicals does. It is only in the minds of those who write about literature that this particular restricted code assumes some sort of hierarchical advantage above all other restricted codes.)

It has already been pointed out that the members of this population control syntactic structure adequately. That means they can write an isolated sentence which is relatively free of "errors" in agreement, in tense sequence, in word order, and in semantic choice. It does not mean that the sentences are "native" in any sense. More importantly, it does not mean that the individual is capable of linking two or more sentences into anything greater than a compound sentence. The linking of individual syntactic units into longer units of discourse—whether written or oral—involves entirely different kinds of skills. The questions of coherence, unity, and rhetorical form, and style—which are so blithely reiterated in rhetoric textbooks—are linguistically and culturally coded in exactly the same way that phonological, morphological, syntactic, and rhetorical choices are arbitrary but rule governed in any given language. It is not necessary to argue for or against a universal logic at this point; it is only necessary to recognize that rhetorical and stylistic preferences are culturally conditioned and vary widely from language to language. In other words, the ways in which sentences are related to each other in larger lumps of language constitutes something to be taught, not something to be assumed to exist universally across language and culture barriers. (The difficulty that native speakers have in acquiring a sensitivity to those preferences should serve as ample demonstration of the validity of the argument.)

The theoretical basis for these contentions has been developed elsewhere,² but there are a number of other considerations appropriate to this discussion. Two thorny problems, indeed, remain; one is purely pedagogical and the other is practical. In the reverse order, composition has to have some content. It has already been stated that no single academic discipline may constitute the content core and that "literature" is unsatisfactory both for the reasons stated before and for the reason that literature is the highest linguistic development of a language, often complicated by moral and philosophical implications, to say nothing of the fact that it exists in a cultural frame which even a native speaker may not fully share. On the other hand, even an experienced teacher probably does not share to any significant degree the cultural frames of a linguistically heterogeneous class. The traditional freshman English topics simply will not do. The non-native speaker needs much more limited topics generally within much more prescriptive limits. There is no point in allowing him to reiterate improperly controlled syntactic structures over a content which he really does not understand. Since the content may be regarded principally as a vehicle to teach grammar and rhetoric, and thus is in no sense sacrosanct, it may be most profitable to derive the content from the learner. Since the advanced level student may be considered a "fluent speaker of non-standard," it is possible to explain to the advanced class that they are going to write ten or fifteen compositions during the course of the term and that the

² "A Contrastive Rhetoric Approach to Reading and Writing," in *Selected Conference Papers of the Association of Teachers of English As A Second Language*, Los Angeles: National Association for Foreign Student Affairs, 1966, pp. 85-93; "Contrastive Grammar: Teaching Composition to the Chinese Student," *Journal of English as a Second Language*, 1 (1968), pp. 1-13; "Contrastive Rhetoric and the Teaching of Composition," *TESOL Quarterly*, 1, 4 (December 1967), pp. 16-16; "Cultural Thought Patterns in Intercultural Education," *Language Learning*, XVI, 1-2 (1966), pp. 1-20; "Notes Toward an Applied Rhetoric," *Preparing the EFL Teacher: A Projection for the '70's* (Language and the Teacher, 7), Philadelphia: Center for Curriculum Development, Inc., 1970; "491391625162541258661," *Journal of English as a Second Language*, IV, 1 (Spring 1969), pp. 7-18.

teacher would prefer to have them suggest the topics. Certain restrictions must be imposed—the topics must be agreeable to a clear majority; they must be sufficiently broad so that everyone in the class can be assumed to know something about them. they must not include *purely* emotional issues, and they must be sufficiently limited so that the compositions can be written in a class-hour.

The initial generation of ideas may be less than satisfactory for writing purposes, although of course it enables the teacher to make a number of comments about differences between *topics* and mere ideas. An actual class produced, among others, the following initial suggestions:

1. American Football
2. Please explain your daily life
3. The Role of Western's Aid in Developing Countries
4. Air Pollution Problems and Their Solutions
5. Is the Racial Problem Likely to be Solved in the US?
6. Drugs
7. The Younger Generation
8. News
9. English: The Universal Language
10. Honesty is the Best Policy
11. The Most Interesting Person I Have Ever Met
12. Hobby

All of these items tend to be much too big for a class-hour assignment. Items like 3-9 are both likely to require considerable research and likely not to be of particular interest to a clear majority of the class. Items like 2 and 10-12 would be likely to develop a lot of clichés but not much thought. Item 1 has possibilities, but not without some research and certainly not for every member of the class. One class period may be spent in going over an inadequate list and in explaining why it is inadequate.

The second generation of ideas (or the third if necessary) may be more productive. The actual class cited above, after spending an hour reviewing its inappropriate recommendations, generated the following second list:

1. A Letter to my family describing my present life style
2. Foreign Student problems during the first few days at
[school] University
3. My experience in studying English
4. Los Angeles: Image and Reality
5. U. S. Students as I See Them
6. Compare US Immediate Family Unit with that in My
Country
7. Compare [school] Campus Life with that in My
Country
8. Life Without a Car in [city]
9. My Problems in Adapting to Life in [city]
10. My first class at/in [school/academic discipline]

While these topics are less than startling, they were agreed upon by the majority of the class members, they are manageable within a class-hour, and they are within the assumed knowledge of all members of the class.

It remains for the teacher only to order these titles into some sort of sequence. Chronology will impose one kind of sequence; clearly, items like

2, 9, and 10 should be written relatively early in the term while an item like 4 may well serve as a terminal contrast with 9. In the particular class being used as an example here, the text *Advanced Reading and Writing*³ is employed as a reader. That text suggests a possible sequence based on rhetorical structures, so that basically descriptive writing may precede comparison and contrast, which in turn may precede analytic writing. Such a structure avoids any unconscious tendency toward pure narration, toward argumentation, or toward polemic. (No conscious attempt was made to delete controversial topics from the list; rather the students realized that they didn't know enough to write about them.) Further, if some sort of grammar text is employed, or if grammar is taught in any formal sense, a grammatical sequence may be imposed as well. Descriptive writing lends itself to some such restriction as the dominant use of past tenses; comparison lends itself to comparative embeddings, and so on. Item 3, for example, was assigned in the 8th week, after discussion of the essay "Queer Sounds, Strange Grammar, and Unexpected Meanings" by Nida (from the reader). The statement of assignment became:

Write a careful analysis of your experience in learning English with particular attention to contrasts between your native language and English. Do not concern yourself with problems of time or of teachers. Remember that quality is more important than quantity. Write a clear topic sentence. Use dominantly past tense on the theory that all your problems occurred in the past and that you no longer have them.

This statement of assignment suggests a rhetorical frame, a grammatical frame, and a specific limitation. It precludes complaints about the present class (not that such complaints are inherently undesirable but rather on the theory that this particular exercise is not the place for such complaints) or about prior classes or teachers, and thus forces a certain amount of objectivity. Any one of the listed topics can be similarly limited, and such limitation is desirable in the kind of course under discussion.

All of the process described so far is really only concerned with providing a content for composition. It is high time to discuss structure. As has already been noted, the non-native speaker has great difficulty in organizing sentences into larger units of discourse because he is likely to attempt to do so in terms of the stylistic preferences and rhetorical forms consistent with his native language. The choice of such forms is likely to violate the expectations of the native English speaking reader and to cause ambiguity and confusion. The student needs to learn that English implicitly contains certain choices, that these choices are backed by the grammatical system, and that the selection and arrangement of the available choices is an important part of any writer's task.

The grammatical embedding rules of English allow only the development of very specific kinds of relationships among syntactic units within a structure, and the range of available choices is exactly reflected in the rhetoric. Logically, it cannot be otherwise; it is impossible for a language to express relationships which do not exist in the language or which have no reality for its speakers. English embedding rules allow the substitution of one item for another—as in the case of the noun clause—or the insertion of one item as either subordinate, coordinate, or superordinate to another. For example, in the pair of sentences:

The boy was here.
The boy drank the milk.

³ Dennis Baumwoll and Robert L. Salts, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965.

it doesn't matter which becomes the matrix sentence. That is a matter of arbitrary choice somewhat controlled by context. Thus,

The boy who was here drank the milk.
The boy who drank the milk was here.

In this instance, one or the other of the statements is made subordinate, and the other superordinate. It is also possible to link these items coordinately:

The boy was here; consequently, he drank the milk.
The boy was here, and he drank the milk.
The boy was here; *he* drank the milk.

While it is true that semantic differences are implicit in the different constructions, and that those semantic differences would be actualized with different phonological (suprasegmental) patterns, these differences are likely to be somewhat blurred for the non-native speaker. The point is that the same kinds of relationships expressed in the conjoining of two sentence structures also exist significantly at the larger levels of discourse, although the signals which control them are often less clear (e.g., pronominal sequences, semantically causal conjunctive adverbs, "topics," etc.).

It is not only the syntactic signals but also the permissible sequences which need to be taught. Most of the signals can be taught through a somewhat expanded grammar. The permissible sequences perhaps can be taught most expeditiously through outlining. The whole concept of outlining may be new to the non-native speaker. Few cultures spend as much time and effort in assuring (or trying to assure) control of the native language as this one does. Therefore, it is first necessary to demonstrate what an outline does, then to convince the student that it is a useful tool, and finally to teach him to use it. The demonstration is relatively simple and should come out of the reading quite naturally. The teacher needs to be careful only to the extent of choosing a demonstration essay with a clear skeletal structure and the teacher, of course, needs to work it all out in advance. The overhead projector with overlay plates is most helpful. In the reader used in the demonstration class, the essay "Processes of Culture Change" has a suitable structure for the purpose. Once the demonstration has been conducted, the next step is to convince the student of the value of the technique; that is, to motivate the student to want to learn it. While this is apparently the most difficult step, it is impractical to talk about it. The means employed depend so much on the personality of the teacher that no generalizations can be offered. However, the practical advantages of more successful performance in other classes should be apparent to everyone.

Teaching the student how to work the outline is enormously time consuming, but well worth the time if he learns. It may be wise to work through the entire procedure in logical steps with the class. For this exercise it is best to choose a topic not on the list. This topic has to be one with which the instructor can work easily, but still one which is within the capabilities of all the students. For purposes of this demonstration, "US Television" was chosen.

The first step consists in determining the audience for the proposed topic, since the determination of audience involves a number of decisions about basic assumptions. In the demonstration group, it was decided that the audience would be a general audience of US college students. This decision permitted the assumption that the proposed audience was rather sophisticated about the subject, that the proposed audience consisted of peers, and that the peer group permitted the use of an essentially informal

level of address. Some time was taken to define and discuss levels of address. For purposes of instruction, the informal level in writing was assumed to allow common contractions but otherwise to require correct agreement, little use of colloquial expression, and the normal conventions of grammaticality and spelling.

Next, the students were asked to list all the facts in their possession which were pertinent to the subject. Time was taken to discuss the differences between facts and opinions, and in the final collective listing of facts in class, each item was challenged to be sure that it was indeed a fact and not an opinion. The facts were elicited by having each individual in the class state (and perhaps amend after discussion) one fact, and the process was continued until the entire available fund of information had been catalogued on the board. For purposes of demonstration, only about one third of the available facts will be used. The following facts were generated without benefit of outside research or special reading assignments:

1. In 1939 NBC started regularly scheduled public television broadcasting with an experimental station.
2. TV is a method of communication whereby the transmission and reproduction of a picture or scene by conversion of light rays into electrical signals is accomplished.
3. Most of the typical programs depend upon advertising.
4. A TV set has complex electrical circuits.
5. A TV picture tube is operated by a beam of electrons.
6. The invention of videotape helped the TV producer to prepare programs more quickly and more cheaply.
7. TV programs include comedy, drama, weather broadcasts, serials, news, games, sports, adventures, mysteries, reports, and advertising.
8. TV may sometimes be used as a method of education.
9. The color picture tube provides a new dimension.
10. TV may be harmful to the human body because it emits dangerous radiation.
11. There is some difficulty in transmitting TV waves over long distances because of the curvature of the earth; therefore, satellites in space are employed for long-distance transmission.
12. There are 7 VHF channels in the Los Angeles area.
13. There are many commercial manufacturers of TV equipment, and many of the components are imported.
14. The frequency range of TV can be divided into UHF and VHF.
15. The majority of TV broadcasts are supported by commercial advertising.
16. In the US, TV is operated by private enterprise while in many countries TV is operated solely by the government.
17. TV producers earn income through advertising.
18. In the US, the majority of broadcasts are presented in standard English.
19. Color TV sets are more expensive than black-and-white sets.
20. TV has an impact on the learning and learning-style of children.
21. Another use of TV closed-circuit operation does not involve normal broadcast patterns (e.g., security device, information storage and retrieval, etc.)

This list demonstrates the obvious interests of the heterogeneous group; that is, the engineering majors brought out technical facts like 2, 5, etc., while item 20 came from an education major. In the initial collection of facts, no attempt was made to screen out trivial or obvious facts, nor was any attempt made to modify the grammatical structure. The facts were dictated to the teacher who merely wrote them legibly on the board. (Undoubtedly, he probably functioned to correct spelling.)

The next logical step, derived from discussion, necessitated grouping related facts into categories. The class perceived six categories:

- A. Facts related to the electronic processes involved.
- B. Facts having to do with advertising and commercial interests.
- C. Definitions
- D. Facts concerned with actual production and broadcasting.
- E. Facts concerned with the viewer.
- F. Facts concerned with special uses of TV.

It was then a simple matter to group the facts into each category:

- A. 2, 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 14
- B. 3, 13, 15, 16, 17
- C. 1
- D. 6, 7, 8, 12, 18, 20
- E. 19
- F. 21

However, while this procedure places related facts together, it does not indicate any sort of priority among the facts themselves nor among categories of facts. The following step, then, is to determine whether any categories should be discarded or expanded, to determine priorities within categories, and to determine at least temporary priority among categories. The class ultimately decided to discard all of category A on the basis that the majority of the class did not know enough to handle that aspect of the subject. The group also decided to discard category C and category E on the basis that each contained only one fact. Category F, containing only one fact too, was felt to need expansion. Further, it was agreed that item 3 in category B duplicated the better statement in item 15; therefore 3 was dropped. It was also agreed that category D really included two categories; therefore, item 8 was moved out, and four new facts were added to it to constitute a new category G:

- 22. TV is a means of mass communication.
- 23. TV may be used for security and other purposes [old fact 21].
- 24. As a mass communication media, TV may be used to inform, to educate, or to propagandize.
- 25. TV differs in impact from other mass media.

Finally, the facts were ordered within the categories, and the categories were ordered in respect to each other; thus, the final configuration became:

- I. 7, 18, 12, 20
 - II. 22, 24, 25, 23, 8
 - III. 13, 15, 17, 16
- [Thus, items 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 14, 19 were put into a reserve bank of items to be used if needed.]

Now, as homework, the students attempted to write summary sentences for each of the categories. This is a particularly difficult step and therefore requires appropriate class time. It is not helpful to recapitulate the

bad sentences generated. Ultimate agreement was reached on the following three sentences:

- I. TV has a variety of programs which affects the learning and learning style of children, and the majority of broadcasts in the US are in standard English while LA has 7 VHF channels. [PROGRAM]
- II. TV differs in impact from other mass media, and as a means of mass communication it has many uses: to inform, to educate, to propagandize, and to grant security. [USES]
- III. In the US, TV is largely produced by commercial interests who derive their income from advertising and in part from the manufacture and sale of TV equipment; thus, unlike the situation in many other countries, in the US the government plays a negligible part in TV production. [ADVERTISING]

These sentences are largely additive; that is, the parts have simply been strung together in basically coordinate structures. But, at least some structuring has occurred. Now it becomes possible, working from these somewhat summary sentences, to try to develop a topic sentence.

In the United States, television has become the most important of the mass media, because it is so flexible, and as a result of its wide use, it not only serves the public and produces certain predictable results as a purveyor of information and education, but also plays an important role in the national economy by serving those commercial interests concerned with its production, distribution, and support.

The sentence is unduly long and clumsy, but it is grammatical and it does contain all the basic elements in an ordered fashion. Having generated this sentence, the students again took the work home—over a weekend—and tried to complete an outline, working from the topic sentence and the available facts. The following outline was the most thorough (not all were so successful):

- I. In the United States, television has become the most important of the mass media because of its flexibility and its wide use.
 - A. In terms of flexibility, it offers programs for every taste.
 1. Serious programs commonly include news, political programs, reports, weather broadcasts, etc.
 2. Entertainment programs usually include games, serials, sports, mysteries, dramas, comedies, adventures, etc.
 - B. In terms of its wide use, it employs standard English as its means of contact with the broadest audience in human history and in turn has a significant impact on what children learn and how they learn it.
 1. Because English is so widely used, non-English speaking persons are largely left out.
 2. The learning and learning styles of children are widely affected.

- II. Thus, television serves a certain very large public and produces predictable results as a purveyor of information and education to that audience.
 - A. Television educates.
 - B. Television informs.
 - C. Television propagandizes.
 - D. Television has other uses.
- III. Television also plays an important role in the national economy by serving those commercial interests concerned with its production, distribution, and support.
 - A. Television is produced by many commercial manufacturers.
 - B. Television offers income through advertising.
 - C. Television programs are supported by commercial advertising.
- IV. [Conclusion] As an important mass media, purveyor of information and education, and an important factor in the national economy, television has a very close relationship with man and his society.
 - A. It keeps the details of current events current.
 - B. It is more appealing than any other media.
 - C. Thus, it cannot be ignored.

[This outline was written by a second semester graduate student in education from Indonesia. It has been corrected for grammar.]

The final step in the process consists of the writing of a composition from the outline. Since the students developed individual outlines, the themes are not really comparable with each other but only with the outline. Obviously, the quality of the individual themes in the exercise ranged in direct proportion to the quality of the outline and to the degree to which the writer used the outline in the theme. For purposes of comparison, the composition written by the student who developed the above outline is presented. It was not the best work in the class, but it was better than average.

Television is such a common commodity nowadays that everybody does know something about it.

In the United States, television has become the most important of the mass media because it is so flexible, and as a result of its wide use, it not only serves the public and produces certain predictable results as a purveyor of information and education, but also plays an important role in the national economy by serving those commercial interests concerned with its production, distribution, and support.

One of the most important aspects of television is its programming. Television differs from other mass media such as radio magazines, newspapers, . . . because in addition to the serial or fact, it has both the sound and motion that one or the other mass media does not have.

As a flexible mass media, it offers program for every taste. Its serious programs commonly include news, political programs, . . . that attract mainly its adolescent and adult audience, whereas its entertainment programs attract the majority, especially the children and the housewives.

Besides entertaining and informing, television has an impact

in education. It affects the learning and the learning style of children. While children have the tendency to learn or to copy television motion, they lack the ability to tell what they should learn and what they should not learn. How to learn is another problem involved. They either learn it by copying the exact action from television or by grabbing the ideas from it.

The language that television reporters use is mainly based on the specific country or area they are in. In the United States most of the programs broadcast are in standard English style; thus, non-English speaking persons are largely left out.

Besides entertaining and informing and educating, television also propagandizes and serves other various uses.

Due to its variety of usage, television acquires for itself an important position in the economy. Since many commercial manufacturers produce television sets, it also plays an important role in national economy concerning its production, distribution, and support.

As one of the most effective way in advertising, television program is largely supported by commercial advertising.

Being a means of mass communication, television has a close relationship with man and his society. Despite its importance in information, education, entertainment, and political influence, television is after all an advancement in scientific invention and in the civilization of man itself.

[This paper was written in a 50 minute class-hour. It has not been corrected in any way.]

Once the student has been taught how to use the outline, a certain amount of practice must be provided. The student may be required to outline his reading assignments, to prepare outlines for his own writing, to derive outlines from his own prior writing, or to outline lectures in other disciplines. Confidence in the operation of the device will tend to encourage its use. In this demonstration, all items—from initial facts down to the final outline—were required to be stated in predications. This is a disciplinary feature which may be gradually relaxed as the ability of the student improves. Indeed, the student should ultimately be encouraged to work back and forth among the three entities—facts, outline, and composition—revising each as he moves toward completion.

The problems of content and form have been approached. The problem of practice remains. Most teachers of writing maintain that there is a necessary practice factor. But the poor teacher burdened with many classes of many students cannot always provide adequate practice. One device which can be used is the "writing laboratory." In such a situation, the instructor receives and marks compositions in advance by whatever system he chooses (being careful not to frighten through over-correction). In the laboratory, students are assigned in teams, attempting to balance ability. Marked papers are returned, and the students help each other to understand and accomplish corrections. If the students do not complete the task in class, they may take the papers home. Corrected papers are returned and marked again. Papers are not accepted until *all* corrections have been accomplished. Although a grade is assigned in the first marking, that grade is not recorded until all corrections are accomplished, and subsequent re-writing receives no credit (except in the sense that if it isn't done the missing paper is considered failing).

Here are no panaceas. But the devices and principles discussed in this brief paper have worked for its author and for other teachers. These

devices have been fairly carefully tested on the kinds of populations described, and they do produce rather startling effects on something more than fifty per cent of such populations. That figure, while it is far from ideal, is also far from the rather smaller effect implicit in some other approaches. A pedagogy is not all the answer, but it may help. The problem of the advanced level student in need of composition training is a complex one. Much more needs to be done, but it is possible that the guidelines set out here may point the direction in which that work needs to be done. Students will probably continue to "write with an accent," but perhaps without violating all of the expectations of their English speaking readers. Perhaps it is not the time to seek perfection; perhaps an operational solution will suffice.

STRUCTURAL AMBIGUITY AND THE SUPRASEGMENTALS

Norman C. Stageberg

The patterns of intonation and stress suffer neglect in ESOL teaching. Although a few textbooks present them systematically, by means of schemata and numbers, numerous textbooks make little or no mention of them, leaving these suprasegmentals to be learned by imitation, from the teacher or from tapes. Yet the student must attain a reasonably good command of them, not only because they aid ready comprehension but because they play an important role in the expression and control of meaning in spoken language. It is their absence in written language that is one of the sources of ambiguity.

Many structural ambiguities lurk on the printed page solely because a given sentence can take two suprasegmental patterns, each conveying a different meaning. For example, in

What are we going to do then?

the "... do then" can be spoken as "... dó thên" or as "... dô thên ...". The former means "do in that case," and the latter "do at that time."

Another example, taken from a Texas newspaper, shows how a slight change in the suprasegmentals can give a ludicrous turn to the meaning:

She manages Courtney, 3 months, and Todd, 5 years, and the family dog, Sanka, does the cooking and cleaning in addition to entertaining at their home.

The *New Yorker*, which picked up this gaffe, commented as follows: "His salads are on the hairy side, but he's a wonderful host."

Thus, after teaching the basic suprasegmental patterns, an ESOL teacher can profitably continue with those other patterns which are useful in distinguishing meanings and whose absence on the printed page will

Dr. Norman C. Stageberg is Professor of English at University of Northern Iowa (Cedar Falls). He was professor of linguistics at three NDEA Institutes and Fulbright lecturer in the Netherlands. Dr. Stageberg has published widely in professional journals and is mostly known for his Introductory Readings on Language, which he co-authored with Wallace L. Anderson, and his Introductory English Grammar.

sometimes result in double meaning. A number of such patterns are definitely established, relatively simple, and easily taught. From among these I will present ten, through the ambiguous grammatical situations in which they participate.

Situation: Adjective + noun + noun head

Example 1. Ahmed worked in a dirty language lab.

This ambiguity is caused by the overlap of two stress patterns. One stress pattern is secondary + primary stress, signaling a modifier + noun combination, as in *dirty language*, *spécial education*, and *main stress*. The second is primary + tertiary stress, signaling a compound noun, as in *language lab*, *education supplement*, and *stress rule*. This adjective-noun-noun pattern is of high frequency and may be illustrated by countless cases, such as

2. *Special education supplement* (NY Times),
3. *Main stress rule* (Chomsky),
4. *Inferior child care*,
5. *Japanese language expert*,
6. *Liberal college president*,
7. *Radical police talk*.

Situation 2: Separable verb, or verb + prep phrase

8. Roger slipped on his shoe.

If *on* is given secondary stress, then the sentence contains a separable verb *slipped on* and could be reworded as "Roger slipped his shoe on." But if *on* is spoken with tertiary or weak stress, then *on* is a preposition, and the sentence tells us where Roger slipped, namely, *on his shoe*. This situation may be further exemplified by

9. Wanted: capable woman to live in and care for house on large estate.
10. Nixon swore in his new cabinet.
11. Father will flip over this new reversible belt.
12. Sandy looked over her bare shoulder.

A more complex illustration of Situation 2 occurs in this sentence:

13. The thesis was passed on.

Let us begin with the active form of this sentence. The separable verb is seen in these two forms of the sentence: "The committee passed *on* the thesis" and "The committee passed the thesis *on*." These sentences, when turned into the passive, read "The thesis was passed *on*," meaning that the thesis was given to someone else. Now, back to the active form of the sentence with a change in the stresses: "The committee *passed on* the thesis." Here the verb is *passed*, not *passed on*, and the predicate means "decided about the thesis." The passive of this sentence is "The thesis was *passed on*."

Situation 3: Grouping by sustained terminal juncture (→)

14. Secretary about to be married urgently needs apartment.

A linear sequence of words may have more than one meaning, depending on how the words are grouped together. To group words, we must orally indicate divisions points or breaks, between groups. These points are known

technically as terminal junctures. One much-used terminal juncture is the sustained terminal juncture. It is symbolized by a level arrow ($\rightarrow$). This kind of division is achieved acoustically in a simple way: one gives greater length to the preceding syllable that has primary stress. Thus, in example 14, a juncture after *urgently* is shown by greater length on the *ur-*. A different grouping would be shown by a juncture after *married*, indicated by extra length on the first syllable of *married*. Each of the next three examples, you will note, has two meanings, depending on where you place the sustained terminal juncture.

15. His work was drawn on largely by later dictionary makers.
16. Do you know what good clean fun is?
17. Smoking chief cause of fire deaths here. (headline)

The next example can be read three ways, depending on whether one places the sustained terminal after *Arab*, or after *deputy*, or after *chief*. And if no sustained terminal at all is employed, there is a fourth reading.

18. The Israeli city fathers appointed an Arab deputy chief engineer in charge of roads.

Situation 4: "More" + adjective + noun head (mass or plural)

19. The Republic of China has more modern planes and better pilots than the Communists.

In Situation 4, when the stress pattern is tertiary + secondary, e.g., *mòre mōdern*, the *more* modifies the adjective. But when *more* has the extra length characteristic of secondary stress, e.g., *môre mōdern*, then the *more* modifies the noun head. Examples of this situation are many, e.g.,

20. More famous people than you have walked these narrow streets.
21. We want more scholarly manuscripts.
22. *All* gives you more active cleaning power.

With *less* the situation is the same except that cases are not so abundant:

23. Their major concern was how to get less obsolete military equipment from the federal government.

Situation 5: Noun or adjective, + noun head

24. Have you read Conrad's *The Secret Sharer*?

Here again the stresses channel the meaning. With secondary + primary stress—*sêcret shàrer*—the order is adjective + noun, and the phrase means "sharer who is secret." But if the stresses are changed to primary + tertiary—*sêcret shàrer*—the order is noun + noun, and the meaning changes to "sharer of a secret." Further cases:

25. A uniform assessment was levied on all the waiters.
26. After a year of hard work and many mistakes, Herzog became a patient counselor.
27. Obesity pills are often prescribed by fat doctors.

Situation 6: "Had" + past participle

28. Jack had built a long sturdy bookcase with movable shelves along the south wall of the room.

Have is often an auxiliary, as in "Professor Throttleham had built a tool shed." It can also be a causative main verb, as in "Jack had a bookcase built," meaning that he caused a bookcase to be built. In the latter sentence,

we note, the past participle *built* is positioned after the object *bookcase*. But when the object is long, this postposition of the past participle is avoided; that is, we would not say "Jack had a long sturdy bookcase with movable shelves along the south wall of the room built." Instead, we would place the past participle *built* right after the causative *had*, as in example 28. Now then we have two structures represented by the words *had built* in example 28. In speech, there are kept apart by stress: the pattern *hâd búilt* is used for the auxiliary + verb, and the pattern *hâd búilt* is used for the causative. Two more examples:

29. The Jamoskis had removed the large wide-branched oak tree that used to shade the entire back yard.
30. The world situation which makes this possible is that the United States government seems willing to have passed along to it the onus and the burden in the non-European world which Britain no longer feels she can afford. (Here the contrast makes have passed the probable interpretation.)

Situation 7: "Since"—after or because

30. I haven't seen my brother since he moved away.

If the first clause is read with the normal sentence intonation of 2 3 1 ↓ and a primary stress on *brother*, producing a sentence break after *brother*, the *since* means "because." But if this intonation covers the entire sentence, with no break after *brother* and the primary stress on *away*, then *since* means "after."

Situation 8: "There"—expletive or adverbial

31. There are two girls you should consider dating.

In a context like this, when *there* is read with weak or tertiary stress, the word is an expletive. But when it is given secondary or primary stress, it is an adverbial of place.

Situation 9: Stress for restrictiveness

32. The industrious Chinese → dominate the economy of Asia.

In a sentence like this the adjective can be either restrictive or non-restrictive, depending on its stress in the noun phrase. With *industrious Chinese* we have the normal modifier + noun stresses, and *industrious* is therefore a non-restrictive modifier, so that the sentence means something like "The Chinese are industrious and they dominate the economy of Europe." But if *industrious* is spoken with a stronger stress than Chinese, then *industrious* becomes restrictive and the sentence means "Those Chinese who are industrious dominate the economy of Europe." Likewise:

31. The quarrelsome Arabs want another war.

Situation 10: -Self pronouns

33. One of the things I shall have to teach myself is not to be ashamed of manual labor.

The -self pronouns have several uses, two of which we shall consider here. One use is to intensify a noun or pronoun, as in "I myself will teach the lesson." Here the -self morpheme carries primary stress. In this use the -self pronoun can be placed later in the sentence, and when this is done, it carries with it the primary stress, thus: "I will teach the lesson myself."

A second use of the -self pronouns is to serve as a complement of the verb, as in "I taught myself a lesson." This is known as the reflexive use. -Self pronouns used reflexively carry a stress lower than primary, often a secondary stress. Ambiguity will occur in the written form of English

when the reader cannot tell whether a given use is intensive or reflexive, as in example 33 above. But in the spoken form of English the two meanings are kept apart by stress. In example 33, for instance, *myself* with a primary stress is intensive but with a secondary stress is reflexive.

A knowledge of the suprasegmentals used in the above ten situations, and in other situations as well, can help students to speak and write with greater accuracy and then to read and listen with better comprehension.

The difficulty in teaching these suprasegmental patterns will depend in part on the native language of the learner. For example, a native speaker of Japanese, which has phonemic stress, will have less difficulty, *ceteris paribus*, than a speaker of Amharic, a language of level stress.

Once the learner has made an initial acquaintance with American stress, pitch, and juncture, he can be given several kinds of exercises, such as these.

A. Imitation. Oral imitation of the teacher's pronunciation, or of taped utterances. Care must be taken here to link a given pronunciation with the meaning it conveys.

B. Recognition of contrasting utterances. For instance, a pair of contrasting sentences like

His brown coat → particularly needs pressing,

His brown coat particularly → needs pressing,

can be randomly dispersed in an exercise and be presented for recognition.

C. Production of contrasting patterns. The written form of a sentence can be presented, with instructions to say it so as to produce a particular meaning. For example:

His brown coat particularly needs pressing.

"Read aloud to express the idea that it is his coat but not necessarily his trousers that needs pressing."

"Read aloud so as to express the ideas that his coat needs pressing but may not need cleaning."

Experimental evidence seems to indicate that production enhances recognition; thus the general practice of teaching recognition before production need not be followed.

HESL AND MESL*: THE TEACHING OF HISTORY AND MATH AS COMPONENTS OF AN ENGLISH AS A SECOND ENGLISH PROGRAM

Jay Wissot

The education of foreign-born students has recently been receiving increased attention throughout the public and private school systems of this nation. Much of this new founded sentiment is motivated out of a genuine concern for correcting past injustices and providing a program of instruction that is *founded* on sound psychological and linguistic principles.

*HESL—History For English as a Second Language
MESL—Math For English as a Second Language

Mr. Jay Wissot is ESL Title I Coordinator (K-8) for the Hackensack Public Schools in New Jersey and part time instructor in English as a second language methodology at Fairleigh Dickinson University. He is the current President of the New Jersey chapter of TESOL (NJTESOL). Mr. Wissot has published in TESOL Quarterly, Florida FL Reporter and other professional publications.

Towards these ends some schools have adopted modified programs of study or individual courses under such description headings as *English As A Second Language*, or *English For the Foreign-born*, or *Orientation To the English Language* etc. . . . Irrespective of nomenclature, what all these courses/programs have in common is that they isolate, for varying periods of time, the second language learner from his English speaking counterparts in order to provide some form of specialized instruction.

These programs based on a linguistic foundation introduce listening and speaking practice as direct antecedents to the teaching of reading and writing. Other programs exist really as remedial reading courses with some attention being paid to the fact that these youngsters cannot communicate well orally in English, a fact which, by the way, contributes in no small measure to their status as non-readers. A third program type provides instruction of a rather limited nature for periods ranging from six to twelve weeks and then proclaims that the "orientation" process to English has been completed and the youngster is fully prepared to assume a place in standard academic classes.

The purpose of this paper, however, is not to assess the relative merits of the just described program types, although my own preferences certainly lean heavily in the direction of those programs which foster a basic regard for linguistic learning principles. Instead, this paper will reflect upon the somewhat larger and less easily answerable question of: What should the curriculum in Math, History and other content areas be for non-native speakers? Tangentially related to this larger question and also needed to be dealt with are the following questions:

- 1) Isn't a specialized English course for foreign-born students enough to reasonably insure a relative measure of success in academic subject classes?
- 2) Shouldn't the academic class work be held in abeyance until the student has satisfactorily reached a level of language learning necessary to convince both himself and his instructors that he is sufficiently prepared?
- 3) What part can bilingual instruction (subject area instruction in the student's native language) play in the total second language program design?

HESL and MESL are really two components of a larger English as a Second Language program design originating in the Hackensack, New Jersey, public school system three years ago. For the past two years, Math and History have been taught in grades 6-12 as an addition and complement to the already established English as a Second Language classes. Although the idea for combining English, Math and History instruction under one coordinated banner was neither conceived nor developed first in Hackensack, it has attained a fully recognized equivalent curriculum status on both the local and state levels. Foreign-born students successfully completing course requirements in HESL and MESL are not obligated to repeat similar History and Mathematics courses taken by the remainder of the student body.

The HESL component of the program consists of both beginning and intermediate classes. A student enrolled in a beginning ESL class would also receive daily an hour of History instruction commensurate with the limited oral skills of the youngsters and coordinated to the English grammatical structures and vocabulary being taught in the second language class. The exact same format would be used for students enrolled in an intermediate

ESL class with here both the existing *oral* and *written* language realities of the participants being taken into strict account.

All History classes are taught by the same persons who teach the students ESL. These are trained second language teachers with an educational background in History though not necessarily with a certified degree or teaching license. What they lack in technical History skills is compensated for by their awareness of each individual youngster's language achievement record and past performance level in the ESL class. Assisted ably by regular members of the History department who provide source materials and invaluable background charts, it must be pointed out, that the ESL-HESL teachers are not presenting "watered down" versions of the departmental curriculum but rather a partly adapted, partly different creation of their own design. The students are not being cheated out of enrichment but rather being given an opportunity to progress from a point that is more linguistically in tune with their individual language level than could possibly be the case in a regular History class.

To speak more specifically, what the ESL-HESL teacher would do would be to lift the basic historical principles and concepts of, let's say, an American History curriculum and adapt them to the needs and levels of his students. Detailed facts necessary to the making of an intelligent historical interpretation would be presented to the students in a revised version faithful to both spirit of the historical period and the syntactical and vocabulary levels of the students. Standard textbooks prove inapplicable because the students aren't to be expected to go home and read long-winded sentences which at this point in their linguistic development would prove only frustratingly incomprehensible. It would be far better to have the living spirit of ideas and value judgments occupying the course's time and not the mere memorizing of recorded facts and data.

Oral teaching approaches which lend credence to this statement include: dialogues with famous people inserts, taped radio news reports and musical recordings from different historical eras. Concept building techniques include: problem solving forms on topical issues, comparative analyses discussions between important events as presently being reported by the media and historical events that have already occurred, categorizing of the differences between the history and development of this country and that of the students native countries.

Visual reinforcement and supplementation on both planes (oral and conceptual) is achieved through drawings, pictures, maps, filmstrips, slides and experiential field trips to readily available historical sites (local, state).

The MESL component operates in much the same manner: One teacher for ESL and MESL, the offering equivalent curriculum credit, the coordination of syntactical and vocabulary structures with the ESL class, a stated policy of not trying to exactly duplicate nor "water down" the school's mathematics course of study.

The only significant difference between the two components is the added variable of mathematical ability in the placement of students for the MESL program. It is entirely possible that a youngster who would be in a first level or beginning ESL and HESL class might possess a rich mathematical background from his native school and would have to be considered too advanced for the first level course offering. MESL I is mainly concerned with the basic computational skills; addition, subtraction, multiplication, division and with the vocabulary necessary to perform relatively simplistic operations. The youngster in question, hypothetically, would probably find such a class exceedingly boring. In that event, he would be placed in a

MESL II class. Here he would be exposed to the rudiments of factoring algebraic equations. Additional time would be spent on linguistically connected areas such as word problems.

In actual practice, the MESL I and II techniques parallel much of the emphasis on the oral and visual found in the History component. Card games, dice, batting average percentages, racing form sheet adaptations, mathematically oriented dialogues, stock market reports on television and shopping visits to consumer agencies like the supermarket are all comprised in a curriculum format which is as potentially stimulating as it is ostensibly baroque.

Why have HESL and MESL components? Or, to pose the question as it was stated before: Isn't a specialized English course for foreign-born students enough to reasonably insure a relative measure of success in academic subject classes? The questions can be answered on both practical and linguistic grounds. From a practical perspective, most foreign-born students refuse to participate in classes with native English speakers. They are conscious of their accents, aware that mispronunciation may lead to the frustrations of being misunderstood, unsure of how they will be accepted by their native-speaking classmates and fearful of making a mistake lest their American peers judge them to be wholly ignorant. Consequently, they say nothing, and lead the teacher to believe they are very bright by nodding all the time or very stupid by staring blankly and uttering nothing when called upon to answer a question. There is little the teacher can do beyond developing extra assignments and offering supplemental tutoring after school. He or she is responsible to perhaps 25 or 30 other youngsters and cannot feasibly take time out from classroom instruction to individually assist foreign-born students. More importantly, the classroom teacher has had very little exposure to the adaptation of existing materials for ESL, HESL or MESL use. To be considered also is the fact that it takes a basic understanding of the language process to evaluate a student's progress in behavioral terms over an extended period of time. The more one works with second language programming, the more abundantly clear it becomes that it is easier to train ESL teachers for content area assignments than it is to train subject matter teachers for ESL assignments.

The linguistic arguments for providing courses in HESL and MESL run a lot deeper than the practical reasons. Basically, the issue or issues center around the different levels of communication and relative abilities in specific skill areas (speaking, reading, writing) of the ESL students. These issues really constitute separate topics for discourse and could best be answered in a wholly separate article. A brief condensation of the contributing facts can perhaps be managed here.

By separating the linguistic abilities of ESL students into three levels of proficiency, it becomes easier to understand why all students receiving specialized language instruction cannot be expected to make transferable use of those skills in the subject area classroom.

The first level can best be termed *Functioning In English*. This level is roughly equivalent to the language abilities of students in a beginning ESL class. For these students communication is entirely oral. They have not yet reached the developmental stage where they can begin utilizing language forms independent of their teacher or an assisting fellow student. What little oral English they have internalized is largely oriented around the classroom environment and non-transferable to any great extent in the larger school/community environment. Communication at this level is largely a matter of a highly controlled stimulus-response interaction between the student and teacher. The teacher provides the stimulus in the form of a well

practiced question calling for a specific answer or perhaps in the form of an illustrative visual towards which the student has been trained there are a limiting number of possible response choices. Once removed from the safe haven of the classroom itself, however, the student is confronted with an assortment of uncontrolled stimuli and unfamiliar oral models. The wider diversity of possible stimulus inducers and the potentially great differences in dialects between persons of the same speech community place untold burdens upon a youngster for whom communication was just becoming a fathomable maze. To expect such a youngster to achieve measurable success in native-English speaking subject classes is loosely equivalent to expecting a person who has just barely learned to swim a few splashing strokes to enter a one mile endurance contest. Mastery of a skill cannot be assumed simply because a person has begun *functioning* in the skill area.

By the time a student reaches the second level of communication, *Performing in English*, he is no longer solely dependent upon the classroom environment, a restricted number of stimuli nor a conveniently familiar speech model. Being able to perform in English involves the more sophisticated forms of language communication; reading, writing and expansive cultural experiences. Without these first two elements, reading and writing skills, the student could be hopelessly lost in a standard academic environment. He would be hard pressed to fulfill even the minimal course prerequisites of completing homework assignments, succeeding on quizzes and unit exams, and doing expected research papers. The often less discernable elements of critical thinking: analyzing, interpreting, synthesizing and communicating abstractions, while formatively developed in the native speakers but unconscious over the years must be consciously practiced by the foreign-born student before assimilation into his linguistic repertoire takes place.

The richness and multi-leveled meanings which native-speakers can attach to cultural experiences is often missed by foreign-born students who are striving for surface or concrete understanding. Perhaps this can best be illustrated by a specific example. Both the native and non-native speaker can give a semantical definition for the English word, *baseball*. The difference lies in the connotative richness of meaning which the word holds for native speakers which it does not hold for non-native speakers who are limited to the narrow perspective of comprehending the word as no more than a favorite sport of the American people. Ask any ten year old boy to engage in a free association of word experiences related to baseball and the response is likely to run the spectrum of grand slam, pop fly, triple play, seventh inning stretch, etc. The problem is not that the ESL student possesses no advanced linguistic abilities and cultural experiences but that the gap between what he knows and has experienced is so great when compared to what the native speaker of average ability already knows and has experienced.

The ESL, HESL and MESL classes should only be discontinued when the student has advanced to the point where *Competing in English* with native speakers is a plausible reality. Competing in English incorporates both the oral communication level of the functioning stage and the more advanced linguistic and cultural entities of the performing stage.

The second question asked at this paper's outset was: Should the academic class work be held in abeyance until the student has satisfactorily reached a level of language learning necessary to convince both himself and his instructors that he is sufficiently prepared?

Conceding the fact that such a level of satisfaction could be amenably agreed upon by student and teachers, holding course work in abeyance is still a poor educational policy to follow. The student's potential for intellectual growth and experiential advancement would be seriously curtailed.

The possibility exists that the student will interpret his lightened schedule as a reflection upon his inferior mental capacities not his linguistic handicaps, especially since he was in all probability able to succeed in academic subjects when taken in his native language. From an administrative vantage point, the removal of content subjects from the student's program will necessitate the devising of half day schedules. Foreign-born students would arrive at or leave at a different time than the rest of the school, thereby negatively accentuating his differentness from American students and depriving him of much needed linguistic exposure and cultural contact. Lastly, experience has shown that effective interdisciplinary approaches to education reinforce one another and develop strong learning ties. The whole concept of component extensions to an ESL program is rooted in the notion that there must be a decisive inter-relationship between educational parts if meaningful learning is to be derived.

What part can bilingual instruction play in the total second language program design? A most definite and instrumental part indeed. In fact, in those school systems where more than 50% of the student population is comprised of students representing a second language group, the ESL program should submerge its identity and defer its dominant role to become itself a smaller component in a larger whole; the bilingual program.

However, in those school systems where the percentages for any one language group is less than 50%; in those school systems where a multilingual speech communities reside; in those school systems where an ESL course of study and classes have already been established and a bilingual course of study and classes have not; and in those school systems where local boards or state education department decrees demand that academic credit be given only to those subjects taught entirely in English, a personal recommendation is hereby made that the administrators seriously consider the adoption of an extended ESL program incorporating the History and Math disciplines and perhaps the area of science within its organizational framework.

The advocacy of an extended ESL program should not be viewed as a plea for the permanent dismemberment of existing established curriculums but rather for the creation of a "temporary" spot on the education continuum whose subsequent accountability will be measured by its eventual disuse.

B. STANDARD ENGLISH TO SPEAKERS OF A NON-STANDARD DIALECT

Section 4. Attitudes

THE FUNCTIONAL NATURE OF SOCIAL DIALECTS: SOCIAL CHANGE AND THE TEACHING OF BLACK ENGLISH

Robert E. Cromack

1. Introduction

Part of the problem of social change that our country is currently facing is a linguistic one. When a minority group, speaking a minority language, tries to take its rightful place in the structure of our society, the majority strongly resists it. This has happened to the Irish, the Germans, the Italians, the Swedes, and to the Jewish people. And now it is happening to the Black people, especially in an urban setting. Their rejection is partly because of language: as with the other groups, so-called "adequate English" becomes "a symbol of full citizenship" (Margaret Mead).

And yet, do we know what adequate English is? With time people change, social institutions change, whole cultures change. This change is natural. It is not decay, generally, but a constant attempt to adapt to the present situation and to maintain a balanced set of systems. A language, as one system in a culture, also changes. It adapts itself to the needs of the people who use it. If these people form groups within a larger society, then the language molds itself to match these groups. It could even be said that there is a separate English language for every speaker of English, for every group of people, and for every culturally relevant situation. The purist might say that we should speak the language of the classroom all the time; but many English "languages" have developed, each one appropriate to a different situation. Real language, then, has many jobs to do as it functions in a society.

In this sense all natural languages are adequate. They are all unique systems which function to meet the needs of the speech community which they serve. Only a natural language "allows for the whole range of human intelligence and responsiveness" (Mead). Furthermore, each dialect of our English language is adequate English. It can convey any message, whether of content or affect. And this includes all social dialects, but specifically

Dr. Robert E. Cromack is Associate Professor of English at State University of New York College at Cortland. He holds the M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in linguistics. He was a field worker and analyst for the Detroit Dialect Study of Michigan State University and spent nine years among Cashinawa Indians in Peru under the sponsorship of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. His study Language Systems and Discourse Structure in Cashinawa was published by the Hartford Seminary Foundation.

the language varieties of the urban, working class Black people, the varieties which are the subject of our present discussion.

Non-industrial societies and cultures have traditionally been studied by American anthropologists. They have learned much about these societies and some have applied this knowledge to bring about social change with as little disruption as possible. Now these scientists are turning their attention to the more complex societies of our industrial civilizations, applying what they learned elsewhere to the situations where there are societies within societies. Much recent study has centered on the Black communities, especially in the area of sociolinguistics. I would like to suggest that some of these findings have direct application to the teacher of so-called "standard" English to the speakers of Black varieties of "non-standard" English. The purpose of this essay, therefore, is to suggest one area of study, the functional nature of social dialects, and certain principles of anthropology as they are applied to social and cultural change, which may prove of some use to the teacher.

2. Functions of language in culture

The philosopher, Charles Morris, spoke of three kinds of language function: semiotic, syntactic, and pragmatic. The first involves the organization of denotational and connotational meaning in the vocabulary of a language; the second has to do strictly with the formal capacities of a language or dialect. We can not be concerned with these two for lack of space. The pragmatic function, on the other hand, is language as an effective tool. In this view language is adaptive in the cultural sense. It is used to get goods and services, to elicit some kind of response, to provide some kind of release for the speaker. There are, then, essentially three pragmatic functions of language in communicative interaction: manipulative, expressive, and informative. These functions are characterized in the chart following.

THE FUNCTIONAL NATURE OF SOCIAL DIALECTS

Functional categories*	Center of focus				Code capacity**	
	Context	Source (speaker) ←	Receptor (hearer) →	Source and Receptor ↔	Topic	Elaborated Restricted
I. MANIPULATIVE*						
A. Emotive						
1. Persuasive			x			x
2. Scornful			x			x
3. Provocative			x			x
4. Pleasing			x			x
5. Entertaining			x			x
6. Fearful			x			x
7. Accommodating			x			x
8. Concealing			x			x
B. Imperative			x		x	x
C. Conversative						
1. Contactive	x		x			x
2. Maintaining	x		x			x
3. Dominating	x		x			x
D. Phatic	x			x		x
E. Identificational				x	x	x
II. EXPRESSIVE*						
A. Expressive		x				x
B. Impulsive	x	x				x
C. Evaluative		x			x	
III. INFORMATIVE*						
A. Informative					x	
B. Instructive					x	x

BLACK ENGLISH [Data from Kochman]

"Rapping" = IE, IIA "Signifying" = IA3
 "Playing the dozens" = IA3, IIA "Shucking" = IA8
 "Toasts" = IA5 "Gripping" = IA6
 "Run it down" = IIIA "Copping a plea" = IA6
 "Whupping" = IE, IA2

* Data from Nida, Williams & Naremore, and Cromack
 ** Classifications from Bernstein

This notion of language function in a behavioral sense is not new. Something of what may be involved is described quite satisfactorily by Lord Chesterfield in a letter to his son in 1751 concerning an attempt to persuade parliament to adopt the Gregorian calendar:

For my own part, I could just as soon have talked Celtic or Slavonian [!] to them, as astronomy, and they would have understood me full as well: so I resolved to do better than speak to the purpose, and to please instead of informing them. I gave them, therefore, only a historical account of calendars, from the Egyptian down to the Gregorian, amusing them now and then with little episodes; but I was particularly attentive to the choice of my words, to the harmony and roundness of my periods, and to my elocution, to my action. This succeeded, and ever will succeed; they thought I informed, because I pleased them; and many of them said that I had made the whole very clear to them; when, God knows, I had not even attempted it.

Recently, Dell Hymes and other ethno-linguists have pointed out more rigorously that there is structure and pattern in the way a language functions in its matrix culture. There are behavioral norms and conventions which specify when it is appropriate to use language and when not, and what level of language usage is appropriate to a specific communicative situation. Pragmatic functions at one point or another involve all the constituent elements of the communicative act—its situational context, the speaker and hearer, the message, the code, and the vehicle. Yet the different types vary according to which elements are dominant in the interaction and according to the elaborateness of the code used. Manipulation by emotion, for example, invariably has the recipient of the message in focus, rather than the message or the speaker; and it uses an elaborated code, with a large repertoire of devices.

There is room to present just a few of the pragmatic functions outlined in the chart. The imperative function is directive in nature, giving commands. It involves the topic and the receiver primarily. Three functions are applicable to conversational settings: speech to initiate the conversation, to keep the conversation going, and to dominate the conversation. These forms have the receiver and the context in focus, rather than the topic, and they tend to have a restricted code. Phatic communication is manipulative in the sense that it controls the attitudes and interactions of participants by establishing or dissolving rapport; it involves both the speaker and the hearer, as well as the context; it uses either elaborated or restricted code. It is exemplified by cocktail party behavior in which a neutral topic, such as the weather or sports, allows the participants to find out the social status and current mental state of each other and to adjust their behavior accordingly. Expressive language tends to focus on the speaker; its function is to give the speaker verbal release from tension; it can range in richness from the "ouch" or "damn, damn, damn" of an immediate situation to the outer reaches of poetic language. Finally, there are informative functions in language, as well as the expressive and manipulative ones. They focus on the topic of the message, and can involve either an elaborated code or a restricted one.

The rich variety of language styles recognized by the Black community as being functional in their personal interactions has been noted by several educators and socio-linguistic researchers. Kochman (1969:26, 31), for example, enumerates and defines a large number of them from the Chicago ghettos:

"Rapping," "shucking," "jiving," "running it down," "gripping," "copping a plea," "signifying," and "sounding" are all part of the Black ghetto idiom and describe different kinds of talking. Each has its own distinguishing features of

form, style, and function; each is influenced by, and influences the speaker, setting, and audience; and each sheds light on the black perspective and the black condition—on those orienting values and attitudes that will cause a speaker to speak or perform in his own way within the social context of the black community. . . .

"Running it down" is the term used by speakers in the ghetto when it is their intention to give information, either by explanation, narrative, or giving advice.

Other modes of Black speech, according to Kochman, are mostly manipulative and expressive. In one usage, "rapping" is essentially persuasive and expressive. It involves projecting one's personality in animated speech. "Playing the dozens," or "capping," or "sounding" is a highly valued use of language. It is a game of verbal insult which may function to relieve tensions. To "whup the game" on a "trick" or "lame" is to try to get goods or services from someone who looks like he can be swindled. "Shucking it" is a form of language behavior practiced by the Black when confronting "the Man," in which real feelings are concealed behind a mask of innocence, ignorance, childishness, obedience, humility, or deference. It is a language of concealment. Finally, "toasts" are long, rhymed, witty, narrative stories, which demonstrate, Kochman says, that ability with words is apparently as highly valued as physical strength.

These examples will suffice to demonstrate the broad range of functional speech styles recognized by speakers of Black English. There are, of course, many others not explicitly recognized by them but alive and well in their midst. As you may surmise, there is a growing body of information of this kind available to the educator who is interested in understanding the culture, society and native dialect of the Black. Similar patterns can be found in all dialects of English, as well. This information can prove invaluable to a teacher in a second dialect program. In addition to this, however, there are other areas of information from anthropology which the teacher must be ready to use. They have to do with the teacher's awareness and attitudes.

3. *The teacher's awareness and attitudes*

While no one has all the answers to our social problems in relation to language, some suggestions to the teacher of Black students can be made. Applied anthropologists have found that the agent of change—which, in essence, the teacher is—must be aware of certain factors in his teaching situation and must have certain attitudes toward the language and people with whom he is working.

The importance of language

Perhaps the most important criterion for the teacher who is committed to bringing about social change in the most effective way is an awareness of the centrality of language to the sociocultural context in which he is operating. As with all human beings, he is working with people whose language is an integral part of them as individuals within a society and culture. A person's language is important to him; by it he interprets himself and his values. The teacher can attack Black English, and by this means attack the individual, his society and culture; or, the teacher can value this language and work through it.

As I am using the term "Black English," it is not a put-down. It is

not an evaluation, but rather a designation, a technical term for a full-fledged dialect of English. Sometimes from the disciplines of sociology and psychology, and even of education, comes the evaluative belief that the economically disadvantaged speakers of Black English are essentially incapable of "doing better." The impression is given that not only is their language deficient, but the speakers themselves are deficient. We have seen from the earlier sketchy presentation of the variety of speech styles that this is not the case. The sociolinguist replaces this *deficiency* model with a *difference* model (Baratz, 1968).

And yet, the teacher must also be aware that it is natural to feel that, because someone is different in some way, he is probably not quite as good. This attitude has been observed by many ethnographers and given various labels, one of which is "linguistic ethnocentrism." It says that "my language is best and all others are different and probably, surely, not as good as mine." It reflects a fact of social attitude and interaction rather than of language or personal capacity. We all tend to be ethnocentric in most areas of culture. The Cashinawas, a Tropical Forest people of South America with whom I lived for a few years, call themselves the Real People, their language the Real Tongue, and anything foreign is looked down upon.

It must be remembered, however, that while language may function to reinforce these divisions already present in a macro-society, it is also a tool to break down these same barriers. Members of minority groups, or any permanent group for that matter, do find satisfaction, protection, and solidarity because they speak a language common to them alone and to their speech community. It is like the high school students who invariably establish their own private language and must change it as soon as outsiders begin to learn it. Even if the outsider may think he is "in," he is "out"—by weeks or months. This private language functions to protect and please its speakers and to mark them as belonging.

If the teacher begins to learn the language of the Black students whom he is trying to reach, he may find that the language is quicksilver, slipping through his fingers. But this can only be in certain, almost superficial ways, such as the vocabulary of the moment; the basic structure and world-view remain the same. He will also find from this willingness to learn the language, that, while the language unites its speakers and may leave him out, still he has opened an avenue of contact with them. He has begun to understand their view of life and can communicate with them in ways they understand. Eventually, with demonstrated trustworthiness and identification on the part of the teacher with his students, rapport will be established and the barriers will come down.

The teacher should be aware from another perspective that the attitudes of the Black students enter into this matter of breaking down barriers. As we have seen, part of the majority's self-defense is keeping out anything different, in maintaining things as they are. And this includes language. Many Black people have recognized that one of the tools of upward mobilization which has great power for them is the very language of Whitey. They have either learned his language or realize that somehow it would help them to learn it. The white-built barriers *can* be breached and the young people know it.

Bilingual or bidialectal education?

There should be no problem of motivation for the student of standard English who really wants to go someplace—and most do. The hesitations may be due to the attitudes of teacher or peer. The teacher must be aware

that the individual values his language and does not want to lose it. People learning a second language realize how intimately one's identity is linked with his language. Sociologists and the learning psychologists talk of "anomie," of the feeling of not belonging which comes upon people at certain stages of foreign language learning. The student wants to run back to his own people; his identity is being threatened. So it is with the speakers of one social dialect who begin to learn a second dialect. The student must be made aware at the outset that the teacher's aim is not to destroy his "native" dialect, the language he uses most of the time, the language he uses with his friends, his mother, in his most intimate times. This is the language by which he knows who he is, by which he identifies himself and others and views the world in which he lives. He should be made aware that what the teacher wants to do is add a second dialect—just like bilingual speakers have added a second language to their mother tongue.

This second dialect will be appropriately used in the situations he will find himself when he enters Whitey's world. He will be able to communicate and to project the "educated" image which will serve him there. You and I know that his education in the streets may have equipped him to survive within the urban jungle. I will again draw the parallel to the Cashinawas, who are not educated in one sense, but who know more about the flora and fauna of the tropical forest and about the times and seasons and how to live there than any modern educator. But both the educator and the Black student should realize that what is needed is the instrumental language, that of the dominant society, as a tool for upward mobility. Teaching a second language or a second dialect is a form of social and cultural change. Rather than erasing the first dialect, this type of change adds something—another language code, a new set of options available to the speaker so he can take on more promising roles in the society.

The teacher should also be aware that learning a second dialect is different in some ways from learning a second language, although there are some parallels. In learning a foreign language the student expects to assimilate a different world-view along with the language. This is not a threat to him—after the first bouts with culture shock—because he realizes that this is precisely a different culture, society and language, and his own remains intact. It cannot be touched, so he cannot. It is compartmentalized. Where learning a second, social dialect is concerned, however, there can be long-range traumatic effects. In this situation the world-views of speakers of Whitey's English and Black English overlap in some areas, but with vital core differences. These differences are conspicuous to the dominant society and they put on pressure to conform to their norms. There is long-term contact between the two dialects, with interference in both directions. There is a tug-of-war between them with regard to the language loyalty of the bidialectal speakers, the situations in which the dialects will be used, and the code-switching capacity of the speakers.

Report, richness, and rightness

From an awareness of these forces at work, a teacher should take certain attitudes toward his students who are going to be learning standard English as a second dialect. We all know that there are teachers who "put the fear" into their students, who dominate and tend to repress a student who in other circumstances is verbal and articulate. In the case of Black students there may enter an unconscious, or conscious, racism on the part of the teacher. The child is already in an alien world and his added confusion is put down to stupidity or a deficiency in the language itself, as

we have seen. In contrast to this, let me reinforce just a few of the attitudes which are necessary for the successful teacher and agent of social, cultural, and linguistic change.

The successful agent of change works with individuals by establishing rapport with them. He adapts himself to them as much as possible and identifies with them. In some aspects we are all minority speakers or members of a subculture. We should face our own minority experience, understand that of others, and perhaps empathize with them, identifying ourselves with the students who are members of racial minorities. The teacher, then, should neither be sycophantic, nor patronizing, nor terrorizing. The attitude of the teacher could help in some respects to keep the chip off the Black student's shoulder and prevent his scorn or fear or conning of the teacher.

The successful agent of change also has an attitude of respect for the richness of the language and culture of the people with whom he works. He realizes that, while the "non-standard" dialect is different, it is not inferior. It is rich in its repertoire both of forms and of usage. The teacher does not "knock" Black English to its speakers but encourages a genuine bi-dialectalism.

Finally, the teacher takes the attitude that there is no dichotomy "right or wrong," "correct or incorrect" to parallel that of "standard-nonstandard." Rather there is a complementary set of norms, of expectable patterns of behavior in a given social situation and the corresponding appropriate style of speech to match, adequate to meet the communicative needs of content or affect.

4. Conclusions

It is clear, then, that the teacher of English as a second dialect has more to do than deal with only a list of phonological and grammatical differences between such dialects as "standard" English and Black English. He must also be aware of the ways in which individuals and their language are involved in society and culture. Any social dialect, since it is part of a natural language, is adequate to meet the communicative needs of its speakers; Black English has a repertoire of verbal styles appropriate to the situations of society and culture met in the Black community. Adding a second dialect offers a means to a broader range of roles within the larger society. The teacher can encourage such change—or prevent it—depending on his attitude toward his students and their language. He has the responsibility to add to his fund of knowledge concerning the functional nature of social dialects and the methods of effective agents of change.

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WHAT CAN AN ENGLISH TEACHER DO ABOUT NONSTANDARD DIALECT?

Ralph W. Fasold

In order to get the problem of what an English teacher can do about nonstandard dialects¹ into perspective, we should ask what English teachers hope to accomplish in the classroom. It may be that there are as many objectives as there are teachers, but I have little doubt that almost every teacher wants all of her pupils to be able to read well and to use correct English in both speech and writing. It will be my contention that reaching the objective in reading and writing may well involve some highly unorthodox procedures for children who speak nonstandard English. I am further going to suggest that trying to teach all students to speak correct English may not even be a reasonable objective.

What it means to read well is relatively clear. We expect every educated person to be able to read and understand any written material he is likely to use. But it is a good deal less clear just what it means to "use correct English in speech and writing." The whole issue hangs on the notion of "correct English." Contrary to the opinion of some teachers, there is no single set of rules which defines what is correct in language at every time and in every place. What is correct English for one person might be very incorrect for another, and vice-versa. This assertion is not new; linguists have been making statements of this kind for years. An analogy from mathematics is sometimes used as a counterargument. Just because

¹ There are numerous notions of the term "dialect" within and outside of the linguistics profession. The concept used in this paper is that a dialect is to a language as a piece of pie is to the whole pie. Just as one cannot bite into a pie which has been cut into pieces without biting into one of its pieces, so one cannot speak a language without speaking one of its dialects. Some of these dialects are accepted as standard, other are not so accepted and are considered nonstandard.

Dr. Ralph W. Fasold is Assistant Professor of Linguistics at the School of Languages and Linguistics, Georgetown University (Washington, D.C.). He served formerly as senior linguist at the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, D.C. He has published articles on non-standard dialect and sociolinguistics and has co-authored, with Roger W. Shuy, their recent book *Teaching Standard English in the Inner City*.

a child has always thought that $2 + 2 = 5$ does not mean that his arithmetic teacher should allow him to continue to think so. Similarly, the argument runs, just because a child has always said "I ain't got none" does not mean his English teacher should allow him to continue to use this construction. But the analogy is a mistaken one. Relations in arithmetic have inherent truth value. The sum of 2 and 2 must be 4; it could not conceivably be anything else. Grammar rules do not determine something which is *inherently* correct. If grammar rules are properly formulated and understood, they are descriptions of how people happen to use language to communicate with each other. A grammar rule is correct only so long as it accurately predicts how sentences are actually used in a certain speech community. The same grammar rule becomes incorrect if the members of the speech community cease using the kind of sentences it predicts. A rule which is correct for one speech community becomes incorrect if it is applied to the speech of a different community in which the sentences it predicts are not used. A grammar rule which says that present-day English speakers use sentences like "Thou goest well" would be incorrect since it predicts sentences that are no longer used. In the same way, rules which disallow the use of "ain't" and the use of two negatives in the same sentence are incorrect for communities of speakers of nonstandard English. These rules would predict that a sentence like "I ain't got none" do not occur, but the simple fact is that they do occur. From another angle, the correct grammar for the same nonstandard English speaking community would not allow the sentence "I haven't any" since this kind of sentence does not occur. The most useful notion of "correct English grammar" is that a correct English grammar accurately describes how English is used by a community of its speakers. This implies that there are as many correct grammars as there are communities of speakers.

Many teachers, even if they come to accept the linguist's notion of correct, will still object that nonstandard dialect should be eliminated because it keeps its speakers from thinking logically. But linguists have found that logical thinking can be expressed in *any* grammatical system which has so far been investigated. Many linguistic scientists would agree that the ability to express logic is a property of *all* human language. If we examine what is objectionable in nonstandard English, we find from the point of view of logic, that much of it is very trivial. "He go to school" expresses the same concept as "He goes to school." The absence of the suffix spelled *es* does not obscure the meaning of the sentence; nor does it make it illogical in any sense. Most standard English speakers prefer the second version of the sentence simply because it is customary for educated people to use "goes" with subjects like "he."

Other sentences which follow nonstandard grammar rules instead of standard English rules strike some observers as defective. Sentences with double negatives, for example, are said to be illogical since "two negatives make a positive." But if we return to our concept of language as a communicative tool, we see the problem disappear. When a speaker of nonstandard English utters a sentence like "He didn't do nothing" he means "He didn't do anything" and his meaning is perfectly well understood by other nonstandard English speakers and—let us be honest—by standard English speakers as well. If a child who uses nonstandard English intends a negative sentence and his intention is understood, then there is no problem of logic, no matter how many negative words he puts into the sentence to emphasize its meaning. We cannot claim that there is something inherently illogical about sentences with double negatives unless we are prepared to claim that all French speakers, for example, think

illogically. French is one of several languages which *require* two negative words in common kinds of negative sentences.

A similar kind of reasoning applies to the use of nonstandard sentences in which the speaker "leaves out the verb," as in "They bad kids." It would be serious indeed if there were speakers who left out any verb indiscriminately, but it turns out that the verb "left out" by nonstandard English speakers is always "is" or "are." As in the case of double negatives, we find here that the predication relationship, which must be expressed by a form of "to be" in standard English, is perfectly well understood by anyone who speaks the dialect and by most standard English speakers. A look at the languages of the world reveals that there are several in which words for "to be" can be omitted without misunderstanding: Hebrew, Russian and Siamese being only three examples. There are also other points in which nonstandard grammar might be said to inhibit logical reasoning, but these examples are sufficient to indicate the futility of this line of inquiry.

Some distinctions seem to be made somewhat more readily in standard dialects of English than in some nonstandard ones. The distinction between "can" and "could" is one which some black nonstandard speaking children do not seem to control, at least in the same way the distinction is made in standard English. These youngsters tend to use "could" in sentences like "I could ride a bicycle" where "can" would be expected in standard English. On the other hand, there are other subtle distinctions which are easy to make in a nonstandard dialect which can only be made periphrastically in standard English. When a speaker of one black nonstandard variety of English says "I been done learned that," far from simply torturing English grammar, he is making an emphatic statement which cannot be made by using "I've learned that" or the like. The meaning here is that the speaker has learned the item in question thoroughly some time ago and it is superfluous to suggest he learn it again. The nearest equivalent in standard English would be something like "I learned that a lo-o-ng time ago" where a time adverb and intonation must be used to cover an area which is handily covered by the resources of the nonstandard grammar. On balance, there are probably about the same number of subtle distinctions which are possible in each dialect of English; they are just different distinctions.

The problem of language use is another issue which should be kept separate from questions of inherent language ability. It is quite likely that there are syntactic constructions present in a child's grammar which he is not accustomed to use in ways necessary for functioning in school. Carl Bereiter provides a classic example of this (Bereiter 1965: 200) although he mistakenly gives it as an example of language disability. Bereiter observed that some disadvantaged four-year-old black children cannot perform "simple 'if-then' deductions." He gives the following example:

The child is presented a diagram containing big squares and little squares. All the big squares are red, but the little squares are of various other colors. "If the square is big, what do you know about it?" "It's red."

The child cannot make the correct response, therefore he is incompetent in using if-then constructions. But Bereiter himself goes on to admit:

This use of *if* should not be confused with the antecedent-consequent use that appears in such expressions as, "If you do that again, I'm going to hit you," and which the child may already be able to understand.

In other words, even Bereiter would not deny that the child has the grammatical skill to at least interpret if-then constructions. One could even go further and show that a child who doesn't even use the word "if" still has still mastered the if-then logic. A sentence like "You don't stop messin' wif me, I'ma hit you upside you head" demonstrates mastery of if-then logic just as surely as "If you should continue to annoy me, then I shall beat you about the head." What Bereiter is calling a language disability is a question of use. The children he is referring to may be perfectly well able to use if-then logic. Their difficulty comes in applying it to Bereiter's problem concerning the colored squares. Incidentally, his problem strikes me as a formidable test of *any* four-year-old's ability.

In the light of these considerations, we can return to our consideration of what might be reasonable objectives for English teachers in dealing with nonstandard dialect. There are four areas of language skill traditionally discussed by applied linguists: hearing, speaking, reading and writing. We will consider possible objectives in terms of each of these four areas.

Although any teacher could probably relate isolated anecdotes about children who do not understand spoken standard English, it is likely that hearing is the area in which there are the fewest problems related to dialect differences. Even children who are most severely restricted to ghettos come into contact with standard English from earliest childhood through television and radio. As a result, they gain considerable competence in understanding standard dialects, which are, after all, closely related to their non-standard variety of English.

Dr. Joan Baratz (1969) has performed an interesting experiment which serves to illustrate this very point. In part of the experiment, she asked black children who spoke nonstandard English to repeat sentences in standard English. Many of these children did not repeat the sentences exactly but gave the nonstandard equivalent. What does this mean? It does not mean that the youngsters were so linguistically handicapped that they could not even repeat a simple sentence; in fact, a similar group of middle-class white youngsters were equally incapable of repeating sentences given them in nonstandard English. What these children had done was to decode the standard English sentence correctly and recode it in more familiar patterns. These results demonstrate clearly the fact that children who do not speak standard English still may be able to understand it.

Research which indicates that some children are poor at "auditory discrimination" (Wepman 1960) is received by linguists with some uneasiness for two reasons. First, it is a well-known fact that people are good at discriminating only those phonetic contrasts which are used to differentiate words in their own language. An English speaker for this reason would have considerable difficulty distinguishing the Siamese word *pit* 'to close' from the word *bit* 'twist' because of the special phonetic qualities of the Siamese *p*. In his turn, the Siamese speaker will have trouble distinguishing the English word *rip* and *lip* since *r* and *l* do not differentiate Siamese words. Similarly, there are certain sounds which distinguish words in standard English which do not have this function in some non-standard dialects. Giving youngsters who speak such dialects an "auditory discrimination test" based on standard English is rather like giving an English speaker a test based on Siamese phonetic distinctions. A poor showing would not necessarily indicate difficulty in auditory discrimination in either case.

Another reason for poor performance on such tests is difficulty with the instructions, as pointed out by Marion Blank (1968). She sees these difficulties as indicating deficiencies in cognitive development, but they

are better understood as the result of culture conflict. Unlike the middle class child, the lower class child does not come to school expecting to play this kind of game with words, although as Thomas Kochman points out (1969) black ghetto youngsters are, or come to be, proficient in other kinds of verbal skills the middle class child knows nothing about. In general there is nothing the English teacher need worry about with regard to hearing in most cases.

The second major area has to do with speech. It is perfectly clear that proficiency in understanding standard dialects of English does not imply proficiency in speaking standard English. Proficiency in speaking standard English, then could be proposed as a goal for an English teacher to set for her nonstandard English speaking pupils. We have already indicated that there are two poor reasons for setting this goal. The desire to teach absolutely correct English is a poor reason because no variety of any language is ultimately and inherently "correct" in the sense that mathematical relationships are. Teaching standard English for the purpose of giving the children a basis for cognitive development is a poor reason because non-standard syntax is equally capable of providing such a base. Nevertheless, another reason might be advanced for teaching standard English linguistic forms. Even if the contention that nonstandard English is correct for a child in some situations is accepted; even if there is agreement on the adequacy of nonstandard English for cognitive development, there is still the question of social acceptability. The use of a socially unacceptable dialect may well place a person at a social and economic disadvantage. No one would hire a young woman as a receptionist and switchboard operator if her grammar is nonstandard; and no one would hire a young man as an automobile salesman if his English is not acceptable to potential customers. This argument has considerably more merit than the other two, and is, in fact, the position taken by myself and Roger Shuy in the introduction to *Teaching Standard English in the Inner City* (Fasold and Shuy 1970). Nevertheless, I have more recently come to the conclusion that even this argument has a very serious flaw. To a large degree, what the English teacher does in the classroom with regard to spoken standard English is irrelevant. Speakers who start out speaking nonstandard English but find that they need to learn standard English will learn it, and those who do not will not, almost independently of what their English teachers do. The reason is that learning spoken language is unlike any other kind of learning. Spoken language cannot be taught only with the methods, materials and motivational strategies used to teach other subjects. I have serious doubts that one very necessary factor in learning new spoken skills, whether a new dialect or a whole new language, even can be supplied in the classroom. It is crucial that there be a viable expectation and desire on the part of the learner to become a member of the group represented by the speakers of the new language, dialect or style. If this factor is present, other methods and motivations may also contribute to successful learning of new spoken language skills. But if it is missing, nothing that goes on in the classroom can make up for its absence.

Psychologists and others interested in second language acquisition—which is different in degree but not in kind from second dialect acquisition—have realized the crucial importance of group reference to successful language learning. Discussing the learning of Hebrew by immigrants to Israel, Professor Simon Herman (1961: 162-163) states:

If, as our analysis would indicate, group references play an important part in the choice of a language, it would follow that the readiness of a person to learn and use a second language may depend in part on the measure of his willingness

to identify with the group with which the language is associated—or, at any rate, on his desire to reduce the social distances between himself and that group.

Whyte and Homberg (1956:13) found that this factor sometimes outweighed even inborn language-learning ability in predicting the success of U.S. businessmen in learning a second language in Latin America:

A strong psychological identification with the other people and culture may more than make up for below average learning ability whereas a man of superior language ability may fail to make the necessary psychological identification and make poor progress.

John Gumperz (1966) gives an example which illustrates that absence of this group reference factor can nullify the tendency for people to learn the speech habits of those who have superior social status. There are three tribes in South India who have lived together for hundreds of years. Two of these tribes occupy a socially inferior position to the third. Yet members of these tribes do not learn the prestige language of the third tribe because the caste-like social system precludes the possibility that they will ever be accepted as members of the higher group.

If similar studies of second dialect learning were available, I am sure the same observations would be made. Without an expectation of acceptance on the part of the learner, there is small hope of success in language or dialect teaching. If this expectation is present, the new language or dialect is likely to be learned, even in the absence of formal teaching. Some nonstandard English speakers have such an expectation with respect to the standard English speaking community; others do not. I know of no really effective way that it can be provided in the classroom for those who do not.

I suspect that almost any English speaker can provide himself with a feel for the sort of rejection of prestige speech which is involved here. There are certain points of grammar which are taught as correct, and most standard English speakers will admit that they "should" use them, yet they don't. Some examples of these appear in the table below.

<i>Rule</i>	<i>One "should" say</i>	<i>One often says</i>
Use nominative forms of pronouns when they are the subjects of understood verbs.	He is human, just like you or I.	He is human, just like you or me.
<i>Rule</i>	<i>One "should" say</i>	<i>One often says</i>
Never end a clause with a preposition.	The slot in which it goes.	The slot it goes in.
Use "may" to request permission.	May I have another piece of pie?	Can I have another piece of pie?
Use "whom" as direct object.	Whom did you meet?	Who did you meet?
Make the <i>t</i> sound distinct from the <i>d</i> sound between vowels.	bet-ter	bedder

Most English speakers who have been through elementary school will recognize these rules as some of those which govern correct English. Yet I am sure that honest reflection will reveal that some or all of these rules are usually ignored in ordinary conversation. This poses an interesting dilemma. Why do so many educated speakers fail to use what they would

admit is correct English? Many people would say that they are just not as careful with their speech as they should be. But the reason most people are not more "careful" is that to follow these rules would actually render their speech socially unacceptable. Not unacceptable because it is "sloppy" but unacceptable because it would be considered "snobbish." In essence, what this behavior means is that we do not really aspire to membership in the kinds of social circles where such rules are really followed. If we were to base our speech on this kind of rules, we know we would soon gain a negative reputation among our friends and acquaintances for "putting on airs." In spite of this eminently good reason for not using this variety of English, most Americans still have the vague feeling that speech is basically careless and that we really should follow the rules. A very similar situation exists for some nonstandard English speaking youngsters. They may well have the feeling that their speech is not as good as it should be; they may even be able to cite the rules they are violating. But the cost in terms of damaged reputation among their peers is so high that the assumption of standard English forms is not likely to take place unless they begin associating with youngsters who use standard English. The average school-teacher probably will not find himself in the position to join the "upper crust" of society, but if this opportunity were to arise, I have no doubt that the teacher would fairly quickly and largely unconsciously adopt the speech appropriate to that social class. Similarly, a nonstandard English speaking individual, if he feels that he has a viable chance to become a member of a social group which uses standard English, and if he desires to do so, will also fairly quickly and largely unconsciously adopt standard English—and probably not before.

In summary then, language or dialect learning is a unique kind of learning which depends very heavily on a psychological factor of group reference. If this is not present, the best efforts of the English teacher is in grave danger of being completely nullified. If it is present, nonstandard dialect speakers can be expected to learn standard English, with or without formal teaching.

By continually correcting the children in her class, the teacher is capable of having an effect. She can succeed in giving the children a profound sense of linguistic insecurity and doubt about their language and even their personal worth. The teacher can easily have a negative effect but has a slight chance of actually teaching spoken standard English.

The third area of language with which an English teacher might be concerned is reading. The goal of teaching every student to read is a legitimate one. The best suggestion that linguists have been able to make with regard to reading has to do with the match between the language of the learner and the language of the reading materials. The hypothesis is that learning to read is easier if the language in the reading materials matches the language of the learner as closely as possible. For speakers of nonstandard English, this means that the materials used in beginning reading be constructed in accordance with the rules of nonstandard grammar. This hypothesis is currently being tested for children who speak black nonstandard English by the Chicago Board of Education and independently by the Education Study Center in Washington, D.C. To my knowledge, neither organization has published the results of their experiments, but the procedure seems reasonable. I will say no more here about reading, but further discussion of teaching reading to nonstandard dialect speakers is to be found in Wolfram 1970, Stewart 1969 and Wolfram and Fasold 1969.

With regard to writing, it may be important to take a hard look at just what kinds of writing are likely to be needed by a given group of non-

standard dialect children. Perhaps it would be more realistic to focus on writing personal and business letters and on answering questions on various forms than on developing the ability to write a literary critique of a short story, novel or poem. In some of these styles, personal letters for example, it may be unnecessary to insist that every detail of standard English grammar be observed. If a personal letter is to be written to a peer, there would seem to be little point in writing it in a "foreign" standard dialect. However in business letters, in filling in forms and in other official kinds of writing, only standard English grammar is accepted as correct and the ability to use it is a justifiable goal for an English teacher to set for all her students. In the process, it would be useful for the teacher to be able to distinguish three categories of errors. (1) There are errors of organization and logical development of arguments and similar difficulties. This kind of problem will be shared by all students regardless of dialect and linguistics has nothing to say about how such problems should be dealt with. (2) Then there are spelling and grammatical errors based on interference from a nonstandard dialect. In a study of written compositions by black inner city students admitted to a major university, over 40% of the errors found were due to dialect interference. (3) Finally, there are errors in spelling, punctuation and grammar which are not traceable to dialect interference.

A variety of apparent errors in the written work of nonstandard English speaking people are not errors in the strictest sense at all. They are simply the reflection in writing of the differences in grammar, pronunciation and verbal expression between the nonstandard dialect and the standard one by which the writing is being judged. In the area of grammar, when one of the university freshmen mentioned above wrote "Keith attitude" when standard English would call for "Keith's attitude" he was merely reflecting the rules of his nonstandard grammar. In standard English, this kind of possessive construction requires 's. According to the rules of the nonstandard dialect in question, 's may be used, but does not have to be. When another of these students spelled "closest" as "closes," he revealed that his pronunciation rules allow the elision of the *t* sound after *s* at the end of a word. Other cases arise when a writer uses an expression current in his speech community but perhaps unknown to the teacher. When one of the university freshmen wrote "Keith had negative changes about De Vries," he was using a common expression among black people. In this context, it means that Keith went through a change of opinion about De Vries. A teacher unfamiliar with the expression "to have changes" or "to go through changes" might well treat this expression as an error.

Other spelling, grammar and style errors occur which cannot be traced to dialect interference and should be considered genuine errors. In the same set of compositions discussed above, the misspellings "laid" for "laid" and "tring" for "trying" were observed. There is no pronunciation feature of the nonstandard dialect involved which would account for these spellings. In grammar, the use of the clause "in which you live in" is not called for by the grammar of any nonstandard dialect. An example of what might be called a style problem is the expression "in results of this," presumably for "as a result of this." All of these usages, along with mistakes in capitalization and punctuation, are appropriately treated as errors unrelated to dialect conflict.

This division into dialect and general errors has at least two implications for teaching writing. In a real sense, the dialect related "errors" are not errors at all, they are correct usages based on a different grammar rule system. Since this is the case, their correction is perhaps not as urgent

as the corrections of mistakes which are not founded on *any* rule system. This may mean that several writing exercises would be allowed to go by with no mention being made of the dialect related errors. In some styles of writing, personal letters perhaps, elimination of dialect interference errors might not ever be appropriate.

In order to carry out such a teaching strategy, of course, it would be necessary for the teacher to be able to identify which mistakes are which. This same ability carries over into the areas of reading and speech as well. If a teacher were to follow the suggestion of some scholars (Goodman 1965, Wolfram 1970) that nonstandard English speaking children be allowed to read aloud in their own dialect, the teacher would have to know what is correct in the dialect so that she could distinguish dialect readings from misreadings. In the area of speech, the teacher needs this ability to distinguish dialect pronunciations from genuine speech impediments.

A case can be made for requiring teachers of youngsters with non-standard dialects to be trained in the grammatical and pronunciation rules of nonstandard dialects of English. In the past, of course, very little of this has been done. There are a few sources to which an interested teacher could go to find partial descriptions of some nonstandard speech. McDavid (1967) provides a list of common nonstandard features from a number of dialects. Fasold and Wolfram (1970) give a semitechnical description of most of the features of the kind of nonstandard English used by urban black people. The Board of Education of the City of New York (1967) has prepared a booklet, distributed through the National Council of Teachers of English, which deals with the nonstandard kinds of English found in that city. None of these descriptions, however, is completely adequate.

There is much an observant teacher can do on his own to distinguish dialect features from more basic difficulties. To do this, he must accept a basic linguistic rule-of-thumb: everyone speaks his language correctly. If several youngsters use the same "bad grammar" feature consistently, it is safe to assume that their dialect rules call for that very construction. Sometimes, one child may seem to have speech problems different from his agemates. His difficulties are likely to be due to some other cause than dialect interference. All speakers of any language occasionally make mistakes because of "slips of the tongue" and nonstandard dialect speakers are no exception. But no speakers make the same slips all the time; if it seems that a speaker constantly makes the same "mistakes" he is no doubt following the grammar of another dialect. If a teacher accepts this rule-of-thumb and applies it carefully in observing his students, he will soon find himself able to make the necessary distinctions.

The answer to the question posed in the title of this article is first, that an English teacher probably cannot do very much about his pupils' spoken language habits and very likely would not want to if he could. What the teacher should do about nonstandard dialect in the teaching of reading may well turn out to be "use it." Finally, in teaching writing skills, a teacher should learn that there are more crucial aspects of writing than dialect related areas and that some writing styles may allow for continued use of dialect constructions.

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WHO GAVE US THE RIGHT?

Kenneth S. Goodman

Though the battle cries are different now and the groupings are different and the stated reasons for taking sides are certainly different the key issue in our schools today remains the same as it has been for several decades. Are our schools agencies of conformity designed to make the abilities, interests, preferences, values, habits, aspirations and speech of all pupils

Dr. Kenneth S. Goodman is Professor of Elementary Education at Wayne State University (Detroit, Mich.). He is currently the chairman of the IRA Committee on Psycholinguistics and Reading and member of several professional committees. He has published in a number of prestigious journals and is co-author of *Language and Thinking in the Elementary School and Reading: Process and Program*.

much the same, all safely within the prescribed limits of social acceptability? Or are our schools prepared to accept difference as a human right and cultural pluralism as the most vital characteristic of American society. Are they willing to accept the obligation to assist each pupil in becoming himself?

No matter what the source, no matter how strong the pressure or how sincere the motive behind it, the schools must not respond by succumbing to demands which would make them assembly lines for turning children into look-alike dolls, so many Barbies and Kens, some black and some white but all pressed in the same mold.

The behaviorists stand ready with their behavioral goals to redesign live children into look-alike, talk-alike, think-alike plastic people. We must drive the behavior changers out of the temples of learning because we do not have the right. And no one has the right to give it to us. Even the parents.

Parents of course have both the legal and moral right to make demands and decisions on behalf of their children. But they are ultimately accountable to these children both legally and morally. The kids are telling us that loudly and clearly.

It is time as educators we face, for ourselves and our communities, that we are accountable above all else to the *pupils* whom we serve. Somehow in the push pull arena in which educational decisions are made it's easy to forget about the kids—who they are, what they are, and where they're going.

With the kids in mind and with a clear focus on our obligations to them let's examine language issues and discuss positions which we can defend to them now and in the future when they fully realize what we've done to and for them.

Helping Skilled Users of Language Become More Effective Users of Language

Clearly schools have an obligation to help kids to increase their effectiveness in using language. That goal can not be accomplished in an atmosphere of hostile conflict in which we force young people to choose between identity and conformity. If black is beautiful then so is the way black people speak.

If we treat their language as inferior, deficient or inadequate we force the learners, in the very act of accepting our benevolent promise to give them better language, to accept this characterization of themselves and their means of communication, thought and learning as unworthy.

Linguistic Deficiency

If they were in fact linguistically deficient we would have to face such bitter truth in our teaching and in our curriculum making. But the truth is that the language every child learns is the language of his home and his immediate social community. Each child learns his language in much the same way, for much the same purposes, and in any group the range of effectiveness in using the language of the group is about the same as it is in all other human groups.

The myth of linguistic deprivation is as much a fraud as the myth of genetic difference in intelligence between blacks and whites which has been perpetrated recently by behavior changers. They've made the mold in their own image, measured all against this mold and found some wanting simply because they don't fit the mold. Having reduced some groups by this device

to sub-human status the behavior changers thus at once reduce their accountability for success in achieving even their own goals with such groups and at the same time justify the application of teaching-learning models derived from the study of sub-human animal forms like rats, pigeons, and chimpanzees.

Every child is born with the capacity to acquire language and he does so. In order to justify treating some children as inferior the behavior changers must ignore the fact that this capacity to learn language is innately and uniquely human and must furthermore demean the language and language learning capacity of these children.

Perhaps the crucial point which must be countered as this case for inferiority is argued is that some children, black or brown or red or poor white lack language suitable for dealing with the kinds of tasks schools pose. In this argument a remarkable leap in logic is made. Schools are urged to reject the language of so called non-standard speakers as inferior (which is essentially what schools have been doing all along) and then the reaction to that rejection on the part of the learners is cited as evidence that in truth they lack adequate language. If a black child chooses to hang his head when he's asked a question rather than subject himself to possible rejection he is labeled non-verbal. If he does venture to present his developing understanding to teacher or tester in his own language he is labeled as deficient in vocabulary and grammar because he is different in vocabulary and grammar. And what's even worse the assumption is made that he isn't learning. In point of fact the child himself will be confused as to whether he is learning or can learn because when he attempts to organize his experience and concepts in his own language and present them to teachers and classmates he is told that he is speaking unacceptably. Whether this is done rudely or lovingly the net effect is confusion on the part of the learner who can not sort out the rejection of language from the ideas he seeks to present. The teacher may not understand him if the teacher has not taken the trouble to listen and become familiar with the language of the learners, but the teacher may also pretend not to understand in order to force the child to shift to unfamiliar higher status forms. In this latter case the hypocrisy reaches a peak since the prime purpose of language use, effective communication, ceases to be a relevant issue.

Under pressure to be accountable for the learning they foster, teachers need to be accountable to themselves to get the cobwebs out of their views of language, language difference, language learning, and their own roles as teachers in the lives of their pupils.

Teachers need particularly to sort out the linguistic, sociological, psychological, and pedagogical realities of language.

A key problem in understanding language difference and reacting to it is the confusion of social attitudes toward language with intrinsic linguistic merit. Teachers have treated language as good or bad, right or wrong, on the basis of the social status which particular language forms enjoy among the high status people in their communities. It's not surprising that high status people think their language is the standard on which to judge all others. Most people are ethnocentric, thinking all others speak quaintly or poorly. Because of the power in the hands of high status groups other groups in society may even partially accept the view of their language as being of little merit. Yet clearly language difference and language deficiency are not synonymous. Linguistic study reveals that all dialects are fully functioning language variants each with systematic phonology, grammatical structure, and vocabulary. Whether the language

community into which a child is born is the inner city or the plush suburb he learns that language form (dialect) which will be most functional for him in his communicative needs. What he learns is systematic and rule governed though the rules and system will vary from other dialects of the same language. A child's effectiveness in using language can only be judged within the language form he has learned as he uses it to cope with the communicative needs he has.

From the point of view of psychology we must understand that every child acquires language competence before he comes to school and that the language he has learned has become not only the medium of communication, but also the medium of thought and of learning. Human ability to learn and generate language as individuals in social interaction is so universal that it can be said that if a person can think a thought he can find the means of expressing it within the language available to him, by stretching or modifying that language, or by inventing new language on the basis of the old. In acquiring new concepts and coping with new experience the learner draws on that language form which is available to him. Attempts at imposing less familiar dialects however high their status or however low the status of his own, interfere with learning and cut the child off from the very medium of learning which is his major resource, *his language*.

Urban speakers of low status dialects will acquire *receptive* control over the various dialects they hear spoken in the community as they need to have such receptive control. Ironically this gives them a linguistic advantage over their sub-urban high-status peers who may never understand any dialect other than their own. Evidence of this receptive control over a range of dialects is shown in the way youngsters understand their teachers' dialects but repeat or respond to them within their own dialects. The child has the receptive control to match phonological and grammatical patterns in the dialect foreign to his own, even to handle vocabulary differences, but he does not yet have the ability to generate the response in the strange dialect instead switching to his own code. This receptive control is not likely to exist to any large extent among school beginners yet it is almost universal among sixth graders though the extent of control may vary. Movement toward receptive control of a range of dialects necessary for linguistic functioning in his expanding world may in fact be considered part of the natural expansion of the child's linguistic competence. Acquisition of the ability to generate language, either in speaking or writing, in these less familiar dialects is by no means as universal. That appears to depend on complex factors of need and motivation as the child moves into new social, educational and cultural situations.

Pedagogically we know that language change can not be forced and that language flexibility is not to any great degree a function of intensity of instruction. There is almost no evidence in fact to indicate that people can be formally taught to use other dialects in preference to their own. The most effective means of influencing learners to become more effective and more flexible in language use appears to be still to provide many opportunities to use language in relationship to expanding knowledge and experience. For generations pupils have rejected the efforts of teachers to apply a correct language model to their language and force change.

Bringing these linguistic, sociological, psychological, pedagogical factors together teachers can summarily dismiss forceable intervention in the language of learners. It is not necessary, desirable or practical. By working with the child rather than at cross purposes to him, we help him to expand on what he can do. We help him become more effective without rejecting what he is now. At the same time we accept the richness of

difference instead of the sterility of conformity. Our goal then is not to change behavior but to expand competence.

To achieve this goal we need schools and teachers who accept and understand language difference, who are able to encourage children to continue to use the language they bring to school in learning, who provide stimulating relevant learning environments for their pupils, who exemplify themselves rich, varied and appropriate language use rather than up-tight proper language. If we succeed, we will find our pupils opening outward and ever expanding on the base of their linguistic competence. If we do not we will hear them openly shouting or quietly muttering, "F'get you, honky, f'get you oreo!"

BI-DIALECTALISM IS NOT THE LINGUISTICS OF WHITE SUPREMACY: SENSE VERSUS SENSIBILITIES

Melvin J. Hoffman

Accusations of covert racism have been leveled directly or by implication against linguists who support the teaching of Standard English as a second dialect. Two representative opponents of the teaching of a second dialect are Kochman (1969) and Sledd (1969). After a brief review of their position, I intend to oppose their arguments that the approval and encouragement of this concept, *Functional Bi-Dialectalism* is contradictory, mis-directed, discriminatory, and impractical.

The concept that they oppose has been defined by several authors who support bi-dialectalism:

Brooks (1964: 30) states:

... should teachers not exploit the tremendous psychological uplift implicit in ... saying ... "I accept you and your language; use it when you need it for communication with your family and friends. But, if you really want to be a successful participant in other areas of American life, why not learn the kind of language accepted and used there.

Nonstandard Dialect (1968: 1) finds:

Teachers should accept the pupils' nonstandard dialect in appropriate situations and build on the language patterns which pupils have been accustomed to using ... Standard English thus becomes additive as another available language pattern while the original dialect may still be spoken in situations which the individual considers appropriate.

Dr. Melvin J. Hoffman is Assistant Professor of English at State University of New York College at Buffalo. He holds a doctorate in linguistics from the State University of New York at Buffalo. Formerly a dialect field interviewer and linguistics consultant to the Chicago Board of Education, he has published articles concerned with teaching language arts to minorities and is the author of a bi-dialectal oral language manual.

Shuy (1969a: 89) gives the origin of the term:

... The term *functional bi-dialectalism* was proposed at the Indiana University Conference on Social Dialects and Language Learning as a way of identifying a person's legitimate right to continue speaking a "home dialect" (one which might be called nonstandard) even after he has learned a "school dialect" (one which might be called standard).

Sledd and Kochman share a common conviction with many of the linguists who support bi-dialectalism: that no language or dialect is intrinsically inferior to any other.

Sledd (1308) after a discussion of the traditional stereotyped authoritarian English teacher, states that such a teacher:

... is not popular any longer among educators. Though the world at large is still inclined to agree with her, the *vulgarizers* of linguistics drove her out of the academic fashion years ago when they replaced her misguided idealism with open-eyed *hypocrisy*.¹ To the *popular* linguists, one kind of linguistics is as good as another, and judgments to the contrary are only folklore; but since the object of life in the U.S.A. is for everybody to get ahead of everybody else, and since linguistic prejudice can keep a man from moving up to Schlitz, the linguists still teach that people who want to be decision makers had better talk and write like people who make decisions. [italics mine]

Kochman (87-8) points out that there is no easily identifiable standard dialect among the regional standards, that speaking a different regional standard may bring social handicaps, and that acceptability of speech, rather than being solely a matter of language mastery, depends on additional variables such as personality and the social and/or economic status of the speaker. Attempting to teach standard English in the face of these considerations is deemed a contradiction.

The main problem, these authors note, is prejudice, which will not end when a minority group member masters standard English. Kochman (88, and 157) argues very tellingly: a minority group member is well aware that he is suffering from social not linguistic discrimination; standard dialect mastery is not essential to many trades where discrimination exists; income disparity between minority and majority group members increases as educational levels rise. He concludes:

The present efforts to teach a prestige form of speech to nonstandard speakers are educationally wasteful and the effective realization is socially improbable, unless the express desire and cooperation of those learning it are forthcoming.

¹ Sledd, referring to bi-dialectalism as the "cloak of white supremacy" (1308), prefaces the word *bi-dialectalism* with the following modifiers: "compulsory" (1310), "mandatory" and "imposed" (1312), "coercive" and "regimented" (1313), "enforced" and "obligatory" (1314). Further, Sledd (1308) seems neither hesitant nor unwilling to suggest selfish motives for any white linguist supporting bi-dialectalism:

Black English provided the most lucrative new industry for white linguists, who found the mother lode when they discovered the interesting locations which the less protected employ to the detriment of their chances for upward mobility. In the annals of free enterprise, the early sixties will be memorable for the invention of functional bi-dialectalism ...

It would be interesting to find how Sledd would characterize the work of McDavid and McDavid (1951) and McQuown (1954) who, among others, had expressed these concerns for the language-learning problems of the disadvantaged before such concerns were either popular or profitable and who had anticipated many of the present problems and recommendations for solutions.

Sledd (1315) states this more strongly:

... Nothing the schools can do about black English either will do much for racial peace and social justice as long as the black and white worlds are separate and hostile ... regimented bi-dialectalism is no substitute for sweeping social change ...

These arguments have been used to counter the contention of bi-dialectalists that standard language mastery eases the social and economic advances of minority group members. Both authors find this argument intolerable. Sledd (1309) claims:

The basic assumption of bi-dialectalism is that the prejudices of middle-class whites cannot be changed but must be accepted and indeed enforced on lesser breeds.

More charitably, Kochman (88) remarks:

It is to the credit of the linguistic approach that it has at least recognized that the speaker's native dialect has cultural values for him and is not to be tampered with ... Unfortunately, the linguistic approach accepts as social determinant the same obnoxious and racist standards as the prescriptive-assimilationist approach ...

Both authors contend that bi-dialectalism is impractical for two reasons: lack of cooperation from those being taught and lack of efficiency. Sledd (1314) and Kochman (88) feel that the bi-dialectal approach is doomed since minority group members will become less and less inclined toward the assimilationist approach and that emerging ethnic pride will increase resistance to second dialect learning. Sledd (1313) and Kochman (87) argue further that available materials are insufficient, that existing efforts have resulted in too little gain, and that not enough information is available about the structures of the dialects involved to permit the design of a feasible approach.

Both agree that advancement of social conditions should occupy the prior attention of people currently engaged in advancing the concept of bi-dialectalism.

Sledd (1315) minces no words:

... They may purge themselves of inconsistency, and do what little good is possible for English teachers as political reformers, if instead of teaching standard English as a second dialect they teach getting out of Vietnam, getting out of the missile race, and stopping the deadly pollution of the one world we have, as horribly exemplified by the current vandalism in Alaska.

Kochman (157) suggests that racism may be crumpling and if social change occurs, the language problem will be solved as a by-product:

... Does it really matter how people of status speak? You say, what if the social order is not changed? Then I ask you, what have you accomplished in your program: the ability to avoid some stigmatized forms which are so stigmatized because the people who speak them are?

A Refutation ²

Certain considerations seem to be lost sight of all too easily: as mentioned earlier, linguists and those who have come into contact with lin-

² My thanks to Eloise Courter and Barbara Schnee for their helpful suggestions.

guists are well-aware of the relativity of standardness in language; American structuralists have sought continually to make this clear. Works, included in such collections as Allen (1964) and books such as Hall (1960) and others, are largely concerned with this and related matters of attitude toward language.

The lack of success that such efforts have had upon the profession of the teaching of English and the layman's nearly total unawareness of a non-prescriptive approach to language should indicate something about the attitude of most human beings toward correctness in language. Indeed, what little effect the introduction of linguistic sophistication had upon the *Websters Third International Dictionary* provoked vehement criticism from the linguistically naive but vocal and influential Eastern literati, which indicate the power that ignorance sanctified by tradition is still capable of exerting against a position supported by scientific evidence.

Judgments of the social acceptability of various forms of language are not solely judgments of the white middle-class. Both ethnic and social judgments are made by people of different ages, races, and status, often with a great deal of accuracy in identification. Findings of Shuy (1969b: 181-4), Labov (1964: 82-8), and Larson and Larson (1966) indicate that minority group members make the same judgments about language as majority group members although they may be more tolerant toward groups similar to themselves. What is more, minority group speakers tend to perceive themselves as employing the preferred of alternative forms even when this is not the actual case.

The features that are diagnostic racially or socially in any area may be few, arbitrarily selected, and narrowly regional in scope. Yet Labov (1969: 33-7) points out:

... this overlap [either with Southern white speech or with the speech of recently immigrated white speakers who live in close proximity of black ghettos] does not prevent the features from being identified with Negro speech by most listeners; we are dealing with a stereotype which provides correct identification in the great majority of cases, and therefore with a firm basis in social reality. Such stereotypes are the social basis of language perceptions; this is merely one of many cases where listeners generalize from the variable data to categorical perception in absolute terms. Someone who uses a stigmatized form 20 to 30 percent of the time will be heard as using this form all of the time.

Existing bi-dialectal materials, dealing with such features, are indeed few as Sledd points out, and present results leave much to be desired. Yet, do such shortcomings argue that efforts should be abandoned to improve materials and to educate teachers to use them? Smith (1968: 119) writes:

... language problems [of minority group members] must be seen through the eyes of sympathetic and linguistically sophisticated teachers, and they must be led to literacy by means of materials based on the most effective application of the findings of both modern linguistics and modern pedagogy. . . .

Maxwell (1970: 1159) answers Sledd:

... The question of whether the school can or cannot teach a second dialect is a technical question, beyond his [Sledd's] competence, since he is not an authority on learning. While it may be that present methodologies cannot teach a second

dialect [sic], it does not follow that methods cannot be developed.

I must concur with Sledd and Kochman in two criticisms however: more specific information about the effects of teacher attitude and linguistic interference should be available now as well as fully developed programs. It is time for linguists to progress beyond harangues and sample lessons. In Hoffman (1970) and in Davis et al. (1968), two examples of material addressed to these concerns can be found as well as in Feigenbaum (1970). In addition, three collections, edited by Aarons et al. (1969), Alatis (1969), and Baratz and Shuy (1969) include works, many of which address themselves to just such questions as design and implementation of concrete bi-dialectal programs. Hopefully, many more will be forthcoming.

The criticism of the desirability of bi-dialectalism requires further comment. Kochman (157) sees:

... our society experiencing the throes of social reform this very minute. Our cherished prejudices and practices are being assaulted at every turn, besieged with long hair and "bad manners" on the one hand and Black Power and creative disorder on the other. . . .

Sledd (1315) finds:

... the measure of our educational absurdity is the necessity of saying once again that regimented bi-dialectalism is no substitute for sweeping social change—necessity being defined by the alternative of dropping out and waiting quietly for destruction if the white businessman continues to have his way.

Somehow passed over is recognition that the learning of some kind of standard dialect or language is the normal situation for most speakers of any language in the world and that bi-dialectalism is normal and accepted in many countries. See Ferguson (1964: 114-5). The above quotations suggest social even military revolution. Forgotten by critics of bi-dialectalism is the matter of the standard language of China. Mandarin, the national standard of feudal China, now known as *Kuv Yu* or national dialect, has remained the standard speech both of republican Taiwan and the communist mainland; the concept of standardness in language for the Chinese survived two political revolutions of the world's most populous country. The Chinese experience throws a slightly different light on the effects of the changes that Kochman and Sledd suggest.

Those who ignore the considerations that second dialect and/or second language learning is the normal rather than the exceptional situation for many people in this world imply, however unintentionally, that minority group members in the United States are less able to fulfill such an expectation. The position opposing bi-dialectalism is, in this sense, more subtly paternalistic than the bi-dialectalism which is being attacked.

While the society moves toward mutual tolerance for cultural pluralism, what is going to happen to the thousands of students who must face the harsh realities of the here and now? Must we abandon *their* interests until the millenium? I raise the critics' own question: whose interests or sensibilities are to be taken into account? What does the student of the language-permissive teacher have to look forward to while discrimination continues? Speech differences may only be an excuse to justify a rejection already made on a prejudiced basis, but should we deny those who choose to remove this obstacle for themselves the opportunity to do so because such a choice may be offensive to *our* sensibilities?

Maxwell (1159) puts it in these words:

There seems to be no reason in the world why the teacher of English cannot . . . educate people out of their prejudices and at the same time give them some skills which they can use to advance whatever cause they set for themselves. That is why we teach children the skill of reading and writing, so they can get ahead. If teaching them standard dialect to use at their discretion can get them ahead, why not help?

What about the student who wishes to conform or assimilate? Shouldn't everyone in a free society have the choice to conform as well as not to conform? Should we limit the implementation of educational policy to those advanced by self-styled militants and liberals whose actual constituency in both the majority and minority community may be far more limited than their rhetoric would suggest?

Maxwell (1159) writes:

Sledd argues from evidence available to him that the black youngster may not *want* to speak the standard dialect. That's fine; and it should be his privilege not to do so. On the other hand, it should also be his privilege to put on the "man's" language whenever it suits his purpose. He should be allowed to make that decision as he shapes his decisions in life. But if he has not learned a second dialect, he is without the means to make that decision. Unfortunately, decisions on many educational decisions must be made by parents for their children. Sledd has listened to militants, but he gives no evidence (or ignores the evidence) that parents of black children consistently want control of standard English as one of their children's resources. And woe be to the school that tries for less.

Similarly in Hoffman (forthcoming), I submit:

Only a person who is functionally bi-dialectal enjoys the *freedom* to choose to reject or accept either dialect, or to use both as the occasion demands. Proponents of . . . [arguments against bi-dialectalism] . . . seem no more willing to provide the learner with the capability to make his own choices than the prescriptive schoolteacher about whom all complain. . . .

Both Labov and Stewart in an unexpectedly heated discussion following a paper by Allen (1969: 198 and 201-2) partially support an observation which I invite the reader to consider and to be on the alert for: most opponents of bi-dialectalism have not only a passable but often excellent command of some regional standard as well as control of standard written English. I wonder whether the opponents of bi-dialectalism permit their own children to attend schools taught by teachers who do not believe in teaching standard English. Further, why don't the opponents of bi-dialectalism permit their own children to attend schools taught by teachers who do not believe in teaching standard English. Further, why don't the opponents of bi-dialectalism write their articles in the colloquial language of their dialect area if personality and content—not form—are to be the important considerations of the future?

Occasionally in conversations and in articles, the suggestion is made that bi-dialectal teaching should be avoided, because it may harm the learner. Maxwell (1159) replies to Sledd on this point:

Sledd claims psychological damage to students who would be taught a second dialect. He does not offer proof of psychological damage, and if he had some he would be hard put to demonstrate that such damage would have arisen exclusively from the fact of learning a second dialect. The many people of apparently sound mind who can switch dialects cast doubt on his assertions.

Linguists who support the bi-dialectal approach are called arrogant in prescribing what *others* should do. Because of circumstances of origin, education, travel, etc., many of us who support bi-dialectalism *now* are regional and/or social bi- and even poly-dialectals. Regarding arrogance and credibility, the reader is left to draw his own conclusions.

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"LOVE ME OR LEAVE ME BUT DON'T WASTE THE TIME": DIALECTS IN TODAY'S SCHOOLS

Jean Malmstrom

Hey, maybe I won't be a grammatical English teacher, maybe not a published BOOK writer, maybe not a bright black shadow glowing deaddull not even knowing I'm not free, can't move like I want to pinned to the pavement. You think I will ever sit down, brow furrowed, and figure out, try to figure out want to figure out the sentence structure of everything I write? Lady, I just don't

- a. care
- b. have the time.

Too much to do so little time. Love me or leave me but don't waste the time.

Dr. Jean Malmstrom is Professor of English at Western Michigan University (Kalamazoo). She is the current first Vice-President (and President-elect) of the Michigan Council of Teachers of English and a former member of the NCTE Commission on the English Language. Dr. Malmstrom, whose major professional concern is "teaching teachers to teach linguistically" is the author of *Language in Society and Introduction to Modern English Grammar* and the co-author of *Dialects—U.S.A. and Teaching English Linguistically*.

So, to his English teacher, wrote Warren Wardell, a successful black English major in secondary education at Western Michigan University. He knows that language is the key to both conflict and communication, as sociolinguists are making clearer every day. Language creates and consolidates social groups, separating in-groups from out-groups. Conflict festers and communication falters unless each group can say to the others, with pride and honesty, "Teach me your language and I'll teach you mine."

Until the English teacher can utter those words, with friendly, honest, intellectual curiosity, to his students who are nonstandard speakers, his teaching of standard English to these speakers will yield anger and despair, not joy and hope. Inside and outside classrooms, solutions to social problems require respect for dialect differences. Classroom success begins with teachers' respect for their students' dialects, both regional and social. Without granting this respect to students, we teachers cannot ask students' respect for our dialects. Without mutual respect, we merely "waste the time."

In 1963, the National Council of Teachers of English published *Dialects—U.S.A.*¹ It was a little booklet to help students learn how geography affects the way we talk in the United States. Since the 1930's, "linguistic geographers" had been collecting data on American speech for the Linguistic Atlas of the United States. Their findings supported what we all know from radio and television: a person's speech reflects his geographic background. The differences result from early settlement history, population migrations, physical geography, the presence or absence of cities, and the social structure of the region. The several ways each person speaks are technically called his "dialects," and every language is a collection of all the dialects of all its speakers.

As *Dialects—U.S.A.* emphasized, the word *dialect* has no negative or evil connotations in the technical vocabulary of the modern student of language. Dialects differ interestingly in vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar. As students and teachers investigated regional dialects firsthand, they discovered that the man-in-the-street is amused by vocabulary differences, puzzled by pronunciation differences, and offended by grammatical differences. For example, he chuckles when he discovers that his deepdish apple pie is somebody else's apple slump or apple grunt. But he is perplexed when he finds that people from other parts of the country "mispronounce" words, since in his opinion, his own pronunciation is the only "correct" one. His puzzlement changes to righteous indignation when grammatical differences confront him. He absolutely "knows" that *he don't* and *ain't* are grammatically "wrong," and he feels subconsciously that they are also morally "bad."

The study of regional dialects in the schools capitalizes on all these emotions, which actually explain the built-in fascination of the field. People may be amused, puzzled, or angered by dialect differences, but they are never bored by them. The intellectual spin-off of dialect study is that teachers and students acquire a new viewpoint about both literature and language. They learn to observe how writers use dialect in literature for many artistic purposes, and, as Alfred Dauzat said years ago in "La géographie linguistique," they learn

that words, like men, are bound to the earth. Their conflicts do not take place in the clouds of philosophy but in one country or another, as men's conflicts do.

¹ Jean Malmstrom and Annabel Ashley.

Recently, men's conflicts in our cities have spotlighted the crucial importance of social dialects. As we face the educational dilemmas of urban ghettos, emotional reactions to dialects proliferate and intensify. Language is the most accurate single criterion of social class,² and racism in our country reflects in our national attitudes toward social dialects. Since the majority of the ghetto minority is black, their speech is the controlling nonstandard variety, the king of the street. The language of the street symbolizes intense intra-group loyalties and passionate social beliefs. This is the prestige language that the ghetto newcomer to New York from Puerto Rico, for example, wants to learn. It is his passkey into the commanding groups of his neighborhood. The middle-class standard English of the schools engages his attention only spasmodically and artificially; his involvement with the street language is massive and automatic. As Warren Wardell says, he does not attend "one of those littlereddilywhite school-houses where all the kids have the time to go home and play stump the English teacher. Or go home and play. Or go home."

We put the cart before the horse if we assume that a nonstandard speaker automatically wants to learn standard English in order to increase his economic, social, and political mobility. First, he must be convinced that such mobility is both possible and desirable. Skin color cannot be changed by dialect-switching; and skin color is crucial for our black majority-minority. It intensifies all the problems implicit in social dialect differences, inside and outside classrooms. Warren Wardell comments on it to his English teacher:

I don't believe in your language and I don't believe in you. Your language tells me that black is evil, magic, mysterious, dirty. You tell me with this same language I can get as far as the white boy? I got to write grammatically? I got to write in sentences? World's not built that way. I go to get a job, old days, man sees my face, nowords of mine, just his, Not hiring. Igotogot a job newdayshipperdays manseesmyface (says Sit down Boy. Are you qualified? Don't call us, we'll call you.) nowordsofmine, justhis NOT HIRING. If I get A's on my papers it doesn't make me happy, it surprises me. That someone should go through all that trouble to form A when all the A's turn into simple easily made O with the Man.

Sociolinguists cannot solve these problems but they can give us guidance. They have analyzed social dialects and their relationships to race, age, sex, and class in several cities—New York, Washington, D. C., Chicago, Detroit, for example. So far, most work has been done on the language of the black-ghetto majority-minority, though attention is also being paid to the language problems of other minorities—Indians, speakers of Spanish from Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Mexico, and disadvantaged whites from Appalachia. Sociolinguists have discovered that black nonstandard English is as patterned as standard English, with which it contrasts in clear and definite ways. Though these contrasts are social markers, they are relatively few. In other words, nonstandard and standard English are much more alike than different. But those few differences are the crucial problems for teachers who would bring the black-ghetto child into the mainstream culture. Across the country, these patterns and contrasts are the same, a

² William Labov, *The Social Stratification of English in New York City* (Washington, D.C., Center for Applied Linguistics, 1966). Labov summarizes some of his findings in "Stages in the Acquisition of Standard English," *Social Dialects and Language Learning*, Roger W. Shuy, ed. (Champaign, Ill., National Council of Teachers of English, 1965), pp. 77-103.

fact that greatly simplifies the preparation of teaching materials and techniques.³

However, the study of social dialects is not being joyously welcomed into the schools, as the study of regional dialects was in 1963. Martin Buber says that real education is accepting the learner before trying to influence him. Too often such acceptance is the impossible hurdle for the teacher. A teacher who thinks that nonstandard English is "wrong," "bad," "sloppy," or "illiterate" reflects his middle-class values, clinging to his standard English as a symbol of his middle-class membership. English teachers, both black and white, are members of the middle class. A linguistically-informed teacher knows that any language is a collection of dialects, of subvarieties within dialects, and of stylistic varieties within those subvarieties. We all need many types of language to handle various situations appropriately.⁴ The teacher's goal is to help students learn dialect-switching to cope intelligently with all parts of their lives. Speakers of standard and non-standard alike need to acquire such basic communication skill.

Working in New York City, William Labov has organized important phonological rules that correlate with crucial grammatical inflections. These correlations produce homonyms in the ghetto child's speech so that he cannot hear the signals of standard English. In other words, his language lacks the signals of school language; these signals are "silent" just like the *k* of *knife* or the *b* of *lamb* in standard English.

For example, Labov cites the following phonological variables.

1. *r*-lessness. The *r* is omitted before other consonants or at the ends of words and is often omitted even before a vowel. Thus the following pairs are homonyms.

guard/god	fort/fought	Carol/Cal
nor/gnaw	court/caught	Paris/pass

2. *l*-lessness. The same pattern appears almost as often with *l* as with *r*. The two sounds are similar in their physical production in the mouth. "Dropping *l*'s" produces homonyms like the following.

toll/toe	tool/too	all/awe
help/hep	fault/fought	Saul/saw

3. *Simplification of consonant clusters*. At the ends of words, one consonant disappears from a cluster, especially those ending in *t* or *d* and *s* or *z* sounds. Thus the following words become homonyms.

past/pass	mend/men	six/sick
riff/riff	hold/hole	mix/Mick

Note that if several rules of omission combine, triple homonyms can appear:
told/toll/toe

4. *Other phonological variables producing other types of homonyms*. For example, the voiceless *th* sound becomes *f* at the end of words: *Ruth* and *roof* and *death* and *deaf* are homonyms. Lack of vowel distinction makes homonyms of *pin* and *pen*, *since* and *cents*, *sure* and *shore*, for example.

³ William Labov, *The Study of Nonstandard English* (Champaign, Ill., National Council of Teachers of English, 1970); J. L. Dillard, "Negro Children's Dialect in the Inner City," *Florida Foreign Language Reporter*, Vol. 5 (Fall 1967), pp. 7-8, 10; Lee A. Pederson, "Some Structural Differences in the Speech of Chicago Negroes," *Social Dialects and Language Learning*, op. cit., pp. 28-51; *Teaching English in the Inner City*, Ralph W. Fasold and Roger W. Shuy, eds. (Washington, D. C., Center for Applied Linguistics, 1970); *Linguistic-Cultural Differences and American Education*, Special Anthology Issue, *Florida Foreign Language Reporter*, Vol. 7 (1969).

⁴ Jean Malmstrom, "Language and Situation," *An Introduction to Modern English Grammar* (New York, Hayden Book Co., Inc., 1968), pp. 2-44.

These phonological facts, and others, correlate with grammar in complicated ways. For instance, the loss of *r* affects the possessives *your* and *their*, making them homonyms of *you* and *they* respectively. The loss of *l* affects the future-time forms: *you'll* and *you* fall together as do *he'll* and *he*, and *she'll* and *she*. The loss of *t* and *d* affects the past forms of verbs, which regularly use these sounds for signalling the *-ed* inflection of the past tense and the past participle. The absence of *s* affects the present of verbs and the plural and possessive of nouns. These are only some of the consistent phonological-grammatical conflicts between the street language and the school language. They can cause extreme problems in learning to read and write standard English.⁵

Sociolinguists can now rank contrasts between the street and school languages in an order of cruciality so that teachers can knowingly teach the problems and avoid the non-problems.⁶ In order of descending importance, the five most crucial contrasts which brand the speaker of black English in the ears of his listener are the following.

1. Omission of *-s* from the third person singular of the present tense of verbs (*he go* for *he goes*).
2. Multiple negation (*didn't do nothing* for *didn't do anything*).
3. Omission of the *-s* possessive suffix (*man hat* for *man's hat*).
4. Invariant *be* (*he be home*, with no standard equivalent, meaning something like "He is home frequently," as contrasted with "He is home permanently" or "He is home at the moment").
5. The absence of *be*, the copula or linking verb (*he nice* for *he is nice*).

On the basis of this information, sociolinguists are now preparing teaching exercises, using foreign-language teaching methods, contrasting two dialects instead of two languages. Four types of drills seem especially effective.

1. *Discrimination drills.* As stimulus the teacher says pairs of sentences: *He work hard* and *He works hard* or *He work hard* and *He work hard* or *He works hard* and *He works hard*. To each pair the student reacts by saying "same" or "different." Thus he shows his power to hear the crucial *-s* of the third person singular present tense.

2. *Identification drills.* The teacher gives a one-sentence stimulus and the student identifies it as "standard" or "nonstandard." For example:

He work hard "nonstandard" *He works hard* "standard"

3. *Translation drills.* Students translate back and forth between the two dialects, changing the stimulus *He works hard* to *He work hard* and the stimulus *He work hard* to *He works hard*. Translation drills can be complicated in various ways. For example, *I*, *you*, *we*, or *they* may be substituted for *he*, whereupon the crucial *-s* of the third singular disappears. The student shows his understanding of that fact by replying *They work hard* to the stimulus *They work hard*. This knowledge is crucial because many nonstandard speakers overcorrect, generalizing *he works* into *I works*, *you works*, *we works*, and *they works*. He needs to examine the entire set to see the point of contrast. Translation drills illuminate the totality, not merely the one inflected form.

⁵ "Reading Problems for Negro Speakers," *New Directions in Elementary English*, Alexander Frazier, ed. (Champaign, Ill., National Council of Teachers of English, 1967), pp. 146-157, updated and reprinted as "Some Sources of Reading Problems for Negro Speakers of Nonstandard English," in *Teaching Black Children to Read*, Joan C. Baratz and Roger W. Shuy, eds. (Washington, D. C., Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969), pp. 29-67.

⁶ Walter A. Wolfram, "Sociolinguistic Implications for Educational Sequencing," in Fasold and Shuy, eds., *op. cit.*, p. 117.

4. *Response drills.* Although still carefully structured, these drills give students greater freedom to reply. The teacher may give a nonstandard or standard stimulus and ask the student to match the dialect. For example, if the teacher gives the nonstandard stimulus *Your best friend work after school*, the student replies in the same dialect: *No, he don't*. If the teacher gives the standard stimulus *Your friend gets good grades*, there are several standard-dialect optional replies, *No, he doesn't* or *Yes, she does*, for example. To a nonstandard stimulus like *Do his sister go to this school?* the student has a wide option in answering, but must reply in nonstandard to show that he has recognized the dialect appropriate to the stimulus.⁷

The important breakthrough in these exercises is the deliberate and respectful use of nonstandard dialect in helping students—both standard and nonstandard speakers—hear the contrasts. Never before has such proper respect been paid to the native language of our black majority-minority.

In acquiring standard English, the child develops in definite stages. He learns his basic grammar in his home to communicate with the people who surround him there. In his preadolescent years—from about five to twelve—he learns the vernacular of his neighborhood, the speech of his playmates and schoolmates. In early adolescence he begins to understand that school language differs from his vernacular, though he still speaks only the latter. In his first year of high school, at about age fourteen, as he is exposed to a larger group than his immediate neighborhood, he begins to shift his language in the direction of standard English, especially in formal situations. The two final stages often are not reached by nonstandard speakers. These stages are the ability to maintain standard speech for any length of time—long enough for a job interview, for example—and the ability to use the entire range of styles, shifting from standard to vernacular and back again.⁸

If the teacher in a ghetto school, having once been a nonstandard speaker himself, can achieve the final stage of flexibility, he has a true ace in helping students relax in the face of language study. He can convincingly demonstrate how to use both dialects, explaining how he recognizes situations appropriate to each. His problem is maintaining an unemotional, objective, balanced position between them. Lacking such ability, the teacher may ask a student to lead the drills. Interestingly, motivated students enjoy such drills, revealing that common sense is one of the best and easiest ways of motivating language study.

A pressing responsibility now rests on teacher-training institutions to set up courses in nonstandard English. Such courses already exist in some large universities—UCLA, Columbia Teachers College, Georgetown University and Trinity College in Washington, D. C., Northeastern Illinois University, and Michigan State University. Such a course should be part of every teacher's preparation.

With linguistic insights and information and classroom expertise, teachers bring hope to the disadvantaged black child. Without hope this child expects failure by grade four, and, from then till he is old enough to drop out of school, he lags farther and farther behind his advantaged classmates every year. The one crucial lack in the world-view of the very poor is hope. "Hope," says Jules Henry, anthropologist, "is a boundary: it separates the

⁷ Irwin Feigenbaum, "The Use of Nonstandard in Teaching Standard: Contrast and Comparison," *ibid.*, pp. 92-100. Feigenbaum's program for speakers of black-ghetto English has been published as *English Now* (New York, New Century, Educational Division, Meredith Corporation, 1970). It includes audio-visual materials as well as workbooks and teacher's manual.

⁸ William Labov, "Stages in the Acquisition of Standard English," *op. cit.*, pp. 91-92.

free from the slave, the determined from the drifting . . . time, space, and objects really exist for us only when we have hope." The culture of the very poor is "a flight from death"; only the "survival self" remains.⁹

We need mutual respect, relevant programs, and an end to toying with trivia. So we will motivate our black college students, and motivation, like hope, fosters the will to carry on. Then the Warren Wardells will no longer write:

You offer me no new life, but rather a resurrection of the same old bloody cross-bearing.

LANGUAGE IN THE CLASSROOM: STUDIES OF THE PYMALION EFFECT

Frederick Williams

Jack L. Whitehead

Although Shaw's *Pygmalion*, as well as our everyday intuitions, make us well aware of the relationship between speech characteristics and social attitudes, only in the last decade has this relation been examined as a topic of behavioral sciences research. Perhaps the best known studies along this line have come from the work of the social psychologist Wallace Lambert and his associates at McGill University.¹ Among such studies have been experiments where, for example, listeners would assign personality characteristics thought to be associated with speakers of tape-recorded examples of French and English speech. Unknown to the listeners was that the samples spoken in the two languages were earlier recorded by persons who were perfect and coordinate bilinguals. Thus it was interesting, if not amusing, to find that, for example, listeners rated English speakers as better looking or more intelligent than their French-speaking counterparts, or that the French speakers were more kind or religious.

⁹ "White People's Time, Colored People's Time," *The Disadvantaged Learner: Knowing, Understanding, Evaluating*, Staten W. Webster, ed. (San Francisco, Chandler Publishing Co., 1966), pp. 187-190.

¹ W. E. Lambert, R. C. Hodgson, R. C. Gardner, and S. Fillenbaum, "Evaluational Reactions to Spoken Languages," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, LX (January, 1960), 44-51; M. Anisfeld, N. Bogo, and W. E. Lambert, "Evaluational Reactions to Accented English Speech," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, LXV (October, 1962), 223-231; E. Anisfeld and W. E. Lambert, "Evaluational Reactions of Bilingual and Monolingual Children to Spoken Language," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, LXIX (July, 1964), 89-97; W. E. Lambert, M. Anisfeld, and Grace Yeni-Komshian, "Evaluational Reactions of Jewish and Arab Adolescents to Dialect and Language Variations," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, II (July, 1965), 84-90; and W. E. Lambert, Hannah Frankel, and G. R. Tucker, "Judging Personality Through Speech: A French-Canadian Example," *Journal of Communication*, XVI (December, 1966), 305-321.

Professor Frederick Williams is Director of the Center for Communication Research in the School of Communication at the University of Texas at Austin. Prior to his coming to Texas, he was a member of the senior research staff of the Institute for Research on Poverty at the University of Wisconsin. Dr. Williams is the author of *Reasoning with Statistics, Language and Poverty: Perspectives on a Theme* and the forthcoming *Language and Speech: Basic Perspectives*. Dr. Jack L. Whitehead is a member of the senior research staff of the Center for Communication Research and Assistant Professor of Speech in the School of Communication. Professor Whitehead is the author of several research articles on language and attitude and on small group communication.

To anyone who has worked with minority group children in the classroom, there is the question of the degree to which the speech of such children elicits social stereotyping in the mind of a teacher, and whether such stereotyping and associated attitudes might mediate the teacher's instructional behavior toward the child. This latter question, of course, relates to the theme of Rosenthal and Jacobson's now well-known *Pygmalion in the Classroom*.² These researchers found a reliable correlation between experimentally manipulated attitudes of teachers toward children and the subsequent progress of those children in their classes.

The research to be summarized in this paper reflects the first step in the above relation—that is, the degree to which the speech characteristics of children can be related to the attitudes of teachers.

Background

One main study, the details of which are reported elsewhere,³ led to the present research involving teachers' attitudes. Sound tapes of speech samples of Black and White, male and female, fifth and sixth grade children sampled from low and middle income families served as stimulus materials in this initial study. These tapes represented variations among degrees of Negro-nonstandard English as well as White children's speech variations relative to standard English as recorded in conversations between a linguistic fieldworker and the child. The conversations were in response to two initial questions and followup inquiries: "What kinds of games do you play around here?" and "What are your favorite television programs?"

In the first phase of this research, individual teachers from inner-city schools in Chicago were interviewed according to a procedure whereby selected samples of the above tapes were played, then the teacher was asked to describe her impressions of the child—e.g., his ethnicity, educational background, language and speech characteristics, and so on. Adjectives from these free-responses formed the basis for the development of rating scales that were eventually used to obtain quantitative data on teachers' attitudes. A sample of one such scale appears as follows:

THE CHILD SEEMS: hesitant—:—:—:—:—:—enthusiastic

In subsequent phases of the research, sample groups of teachers from the same population were administered selected tapes from the above materials which they then rated on scales like the one above. The result of this series of projects was that although teachers would use some 22 individual scales in rating children's speech, their ratings were generally symptomatic of only two main evaluative dimensions.⁴ One of these dimensions was labeled as *confidence-eagerness*, which was a reflection of highly similar ratings on adjectival scales such as "The child seems: unsure—confident" and "... reticent—eager." The second main dimension of evaluation was labeled as *ethnicity-nonstandardness*, as identified from the apparently global ratings given on such scales as "Pronunciation is: standard—nonstandard" or "Grammar is: good—bad," and so on. In sum, the evidence pointed to the generalization that teachers typically gave

² Robert Rosenthal and Lenore Jacobson, *Pygmalion in the Classroom* (New York, 1968).

³ Frederick Williams, "Psychological Correlates of Speech Characteristics: On Sound-ing 'Disadvantaged,'" *Journal of Speech and Hearing Research*, XIII (September, 1970), 472-488.

⁴ For the statistically inclined, these dimensions were obtained by a factor analysis of the scale intercorrelations. Such an analysis asks whether persons' uses of the detailed scales reflect more global judgments as indicated by very similar (correlated) uses of selected scales. If factors can be found, it is the researcher's task to interpret and label them (if possible).

rather global evaluations of children's speech, but that these evaluations were along at least two relatively independent dimensions.

That the above judgmental dimensions had been validly identified was supported by two types of information. First, the children who had been selected from the low and middle income groups, and whose speech reflected this social stratification, were reliably differentiated on the average along the above two dimensions. That is, the middle status children were typically rated as less nonstandard and ethnic-sounding, and as more confident and eager than their lower status counterparts. Second, it was eventually possible to predict mathematically teachers' ratings on the two dimensions by using several characteristics of the speech samples as predictor variables. Thus, for example, deviations from standard English in pronunciation or use of /s/, /z/, /θ/, or /ð/ phonemes and pronominal apposition were salient predictors of nonstandard ratings, and the lack of hesitation phenomena was an effective predictor of confidence-eagerness ratings.

One unexpected finding in this early research was that individual teacher-raters were sometimes quite consistent with themselves in terms of their ratings of all Black children or all White children, apart from the actual income group of the children or even details of their speech samples. The latter point, of course, reflects a lack of predictability of ratings as based upon quantified characteristics of the samples. This phenomenon suggested that some teacher-raters (or some teachers in some ratings) may have been reporting simply stereotyped judgments of a category of child rather than their detailed perceptions and evaluations of what was presented on the stimulus tapes. Although the results are too detailed to be summarized here, further evidence of the stereotype biases of individual raters was revealed in a companion study⁵ (using the same data) where it was found that various teacher-raters could be reliably grouped together on the basis of their commonality in rating certain types of children on certain scales.

The consistent and readily interpretable results of this earlier research prompted two main questions for further study:⁶

1. What is the generality of the two-dimensional judgmental model when the teacher can see as well as hear the child-speaker?
2. What is the relation between a teacher's ratings of children and her stereotypes of children of different income groups and ethnicities?

Generality of the Judgmental Model

In a new series of studies, the same technique for deriving rating scales as described above was undertaken, but this time, videotapes rather than simply audio tapes of children's speech samples were employed. These videotapes were obtained by interviewing children from specified income and ethnic neighborhoods of Austin, Texas and its environs. The tapes included samples of children from Anglo, Black, and Mexican-American families,⁷ and within each of these groups, children from low or middle-status

⁵ Rita C. Naremore, "Teachers' Judgments of Children's Speech: A Factor Analytic Study of Attitudes" unpubl. Ph.D. diss. (University of Wisconsin, 1969).

⁶ Technical reports of these studies are available from ERIC (numbers not yet assigned) as: Frederick Williams, Jack L. Whitehead, and Jane Traupmann, "Semantic Differential Scaling of Audiovisual Recordings of Children's Speech Samples," technical report, (Austin, 1970a); Frederick Williams, Jack L. Whitehead, and Jane Traupmann, "Latency of Teachers' Semantic Differential Ratings of Children's Speech," technical report, (Austin, 1970b); Frederick Williams, Jack L. Whitehead, and Jane Traupmann, "Correspondence Between Semantic Differential Ratings of Children's Speech and Speech Anticipated upon the Basis of Stereotype," technical report, (Austin, 1970c).

⁷ The authors are aware of the problems involved in labeling ethnic groups. Since these labels are used in our technical reports of this research, we have chosen to use them again here.

families. Initially, six children were interviewed for each ethno-status category. The interviews were conducted in a living-room-like atmosphere by a 24 year-old Anglo female fieldworker. Each interview was from five to ten minutes in length and was guided by the fieldworker's questions about games and television (as in the earlier studies).

The adjectives used by small samples of teachers who viewed and described their impressions of the children in the videotapes were again used as a basis for developing rating scales. An experimental set of 59 scales was used by teacher-raters in a testing design whereby ratings were obtained of children in the six different ethno-status categories and each in a video-only, audio-only, and audio-video presentation mode. In this phase of the research, teacher-raters also had the opportunity to omit the use of any individual scales they thought irrelevant to their judgments.

Statistical analyses of all ethno-status and presentation modes combined indicated that the data fit a two-dimensional judgmental model nearly identical to the earlier model. The dimensions and their main correlated scales were as follows:

Confidence-eagerness

- The child seems: active—passive (.86) *
- The child seems to: enjoy talking—dislike talking (.85)
- The child seems: hesitant—enthusiastic (.84)
- The child seems: shy—talkative (.83)
- The child seems: eager to speak—reticent to speak (.83)

Ethnicity-nonstandardness

- The language shows: a standard American style—marked ethnic style (.90)
- The language spoken in the child's home is probably: standard American style—marked ethnic style (.90)
- The child seems culturally: advantaged—disadvantaged (.80)
- The child's family is probably: high social status—low social status (.80)
- Pronunciation is: standard—nonstandard (.70)

Separate analyses of ratings of children in each of the ethnic categories revealed nearly identical versions of the above results, thus testifying to the generality of the judgmental model across at least the three ethnic groups. Separate analyses of each of the presentation modes also yielded evidence of the two-factor model. However, the results closest to those given above were from the audiovisual mode, whereas by contrast the video-only mode showed relatively less use of the ethnicity-nonstandardness scales.

In sum, the results indicated a positive answer to the first question—the two judgmental dimensions of *ethnicity-nonstandardness* and *confidence-eagerness* were found relevant to the situation where teacher-raters saw the children as well as heard their speech.

Relations of Judgments to Stereotypes

In subsequent research, the second question was approached by having teacher-raters judge children who were not seen or heard but described for them in a stereotyped fashion. Ratings of the children as imagined from these descriptions were then compared with ratings of actual speech sam-

*The value in parenthesis is a correlation coefficient. These have a range from 0.0, or no correlation, to 1.0, or perfect correlation. Accordingly, the values reported here are markedly high.

ples (videotapes). Six different stereotype descriptions were prepared, one for each category of children in the videotape samples. As examples, the descriptions for a low-status Anglo and a middle-status Black child were as follows:

He is Anglo and lives with his mother who is a laundress and his three brothers and one sister in a lower class neighborhood.

He is Black and the son of a professor of sociology at the University. He lives in an upper-middle-class neighborhood.

Ratings of all six stereotype descriptions were obtained from each teacher-rater approximately one week prior to, and one week after ratings of actual speech samples. Again ratings were also obtained for the videotapes of the six categories of children, but this time results were analyzed directly in terms of the scales constituting the two factor model.

Results indicated a definite, but only moderate, statistical relation between ratings of the stereotypes and ratings of the children. That is to say, as a teacher tended, for example, to rate the Anglo samples as relatively high on the confidence-eagerness scales or low in ethnicity-nonstandardness, she tended to rate the actual (videotape) sample accordingly.

The implication of the foregoing relation and tentative answer to the second question, was that rather than reporting only a stereotype when rating a child, a teacher-rater may have been rating the videotape samples relative to her stereotypes. That is to say, stereotypes may mediate in the differentiation of the speech samples, but the teacher-rater nevertheless is still somewhat sensitive to individual differences within presumed categories of children grouped on an ethnicity-by-status basis.

Although the following is properly the subject of further research, it may be that a teacher's sensitivity to individual differences among children in the above categories is reflected in her tendency to exercise greater differentiation in rating actual speech samples relative to the ratings given for stereotypes. Conversely, the less sensitive to individual differences a teacher is to children of a particular category the more the ratings of actual children may be undifferentiated from a stereotype. Put in anecdotal terms, this latter example constitutes a case of the "they all look (or sound) alike" attitude.

Implications

Although studies in the current program of research continue, the findings to date suggest a number of implications. Some of these are, of course, theoretical, but for this report the practical will be emphasized.

One significant shift of thought challenging English language instruction in the schools today is that *differences* in language habits, particularly those of minority group children, have been too often confused as deficits.⁹ The fact that, for example, teachers in this research program have consistently based about half of their judgmental perspective upon *nonstandardness* is symptomatic of a prescriptionist (for standard English) rather than, say, an aptness or a communicativeness criterion in evaluating children's speech. This hints of a major shortcoming in what teachers are taught about the language of school children, one of where the ends in teaching English overshadow the means. Perhaps too much is stressed about the objective of teaching (and expecting) standard English rather than the

⁹ This issue is discussed further in Frederick Williams, "Language, Attitude, and Social Change," in *Language and Poverty: Perspectives on a Theme*, ed. Frederick Williams (Chicago, 1970).

careful diagnosis of existing linguistic capabilities of children as a starting point. The designation of *nonstandard* (or particularly as some say, *substandard*) implies a classification of "deficiency" in a child's speech which overlooks that a child speaking a nonstandard dialect of English may be as developed, psycholinguistically at least, as his standard-English-speaking age mate. To emphasize the point, this is *not* to argue against the merits of standard English as an instructional objective in American schools, but to stress that teachers might benefit from knowing more about language differences in children as a means for improving English instruction. If only for defining an instructional starting point, an ability to diagnose what a child can do linguistically in nonstandard English should introduce some efficiencies into English language instruction.

Just as the present studies imply a bias in teachers' attitudes toward nonstandardness, they also suggest ways to measure such bias and still more to gauge the effects of teacher training.

As mentioned earlier, teachers' stereotype ratings appear quite consistent and do seem to influence judgments of actual speech. If these stereotypes somehow serve as judgmental "anchors," then effectiveness of teacher training in language differences might be gauged by shifts of the anchor point as well as by increased differentiation of actual speech ratings about that point. In all, the instructional goal in teacher training would be one of sensitivity to, and objective differentiation of, language differences. The goal is to reduce the effects of a teacher's stereotype bias in evaluating the language of her pupils.

As Eliza Doolittle counseled Professor Higgins, it is how you treat people that makes them what they are to you. The same advice seems pertinent to the reduction of teachers' negative stereotypes of children who speak nonstandard English.

Section 5: The Historical Perspective

BLACK ENGLISH IN NEW YORK

J. L. Dillard

For a long time, it has been fashionable to refer all the problems of Black-white maladjustment to the South—to assert that the Northern versions of those problems are the result of migration, especially during World War II and immediately thereafter. While it is undoubtedly true that ghetto problems in Northern cities were intensified—and, perhaps more importantly, came to national attention—during that period, it is not strictly true, historically, that the same problems had not existed for a long time in cities like New York. In the area of language, Black English (Negro Non-Standard English, or “Negro dialect”), although perhaps represented by less divergent (more decreolized) varieties in the Northern cities of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, proves to have been there all along.

Segregation and prejudice, although over-simple as explanations of the origin of a language variety, are of great importance in explaining the maintenance of that variety alongside Standard English in the same geographic areas. The patterns of these social problems in New York prove to have been more like those of the South than has been generally recognized. In colonial New York, slavery was as widespread and as oppressive as it was further to the South. The Black Code of New York City was second only to that of South Carolina, and not less oppressive by much (Leonard, 1910:210; Szasz, 1967:217). Racial separation of this sort promoted the maintenance of different language varieties.¹

There was prominent in the West African slave trade a Pidgin English (Cassidy, 1962) which was creolized on this continent, in the West Indies, and elsewhere (Bailey, 1965; Stewart, 1967, 1968; Dillard in press). At base, this English Pidgin consisted of English vocabulary within the structure of Portuguese Trade Pidgin and the Mediterranean Lingua Franca, Sabir, with of course a large number of Africanisms, especially in phonology. Creolized, this variety of English gradually changed to be more like those varieties which came more directly from the British Isles (Bloomfield, 1933: 474; Hershovits, 1941). The results of this process are well known insofar as the still largely creolized variety found in the vicinity of the Georgia South Carolina Sea Islands is concerned (Turner, 1949); but it has only recently been shown that the earlier history of the English dialects of North American Negroes in general was almost exactly like that of the residents of the Sea Islands and of the West Indies (Bailey, 1965; Stewart, 1967, 1968; Dillard, in press).

¹ On survival of African cultural practices, see (among many sources) Gabriel Furi-man, *Antiquities of Long Island*, New York, 1875, pp. 267-269.

Dr. J. L. Dillard is Visiting Lecturer in Linguistics at Ferkauf Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences of Yeshiva University (New York). He was associated formerly with the Institute of Caribbean Studies at University of Puerto Rico and with the AID in Cameroun. Dr. Dillard also served as Fulbright lecturer in Burundi and as researcher in the Urban Language Study Project of the District of Columbia. He has published in professional journals and has in press a number of studies on Black English.

Those West African slaves who came to New York in 1625 had such interesting names as "Paul d'Angola, Simon Congo, Anthony Portuguese, John Francisco, and seven others" (O'Callaghan, 1867:xii). They and those slaves who soon followed them faced the problem of using, in interaction with their Dutch masters and with the fellow slaves who came from widely varying African language groups, a *lingua franca*. Some of the solutions, in the early days, were provided by the use of African Languages like Wolof or Mandingo, along with which the slaves brought West African cultural traits like the use of day names (i.e., Cuffee 'male born on Friday'). Pidginized versions of European languages, especially Portuguese, English, and French, came, however, to have a more general—and therefore more useful—function in the slave community. Use of a contact language was all the more mandatory because "a dozen or 15 European languages might have been heard in the streets of the town" (Ulmann, 1931:6).

To linguists, particularly those specialized in Creole studies, the notion of a Dutch Creole poses some special problems. The definition of a Creole is 'a Pidgin which has become the native language of a speech community'; but there is no record of a Dutch Pidgin. There are abundant records of pidgin varieties of English, French, and Portuguese—in West Africa and in the Americas—and there are borrowings from those pidgins in West African languages like Temne and Twi. But there are no such borrowings from Dutch, although there are traces of Dutch cultural practices (Schneider, 1967). It seems inescapable that early linguistic borrowings, especially, were made through the medium of the pidgins, and that there simply was no Pidgin Dutch.

The answer seems to be that the Dutch, along with other Germanic—Danish and English—traders, made use of the Mediterranean *Lingua Franca* (Sabir) and the Pidgin varieties of Portuguese and English. A small nation, trying to hold its own in the maritime competition, Holland was inclined even then to make up the difference in linguistic virtuosity. Their slaves, the earliest in the New York area, may have used Pidgin English, Pidgin Portuguese, or Pidgin French along with Wolof, Mandingo, or some other West African language, for the purposes of a language of wider communication. But there were many reasons why Pidgin English would have been the most useful of these closely related (Thompson, 1961; Whinnom, 1965) languages. Because of constant contact with their Dutch masters, they naturally took a lot of Dutch vocabulary into that Pidgin.² The same process has taken place in the English Creoles of Surinam (Rens, 1953), which are easily mistaken for varieties of Dutch by unwary English-speaking people. This process is known as relexification (Stewart, 1932; Taylor, 1960) and contact languages like the pidgins and creoles are especially prone to that process (Whinnom, 1965). *Lingua Franca* was especially characterized by such vocabulary substitution (Schuchardt, 1909).

² This process, called **relexification** in Stewart, 1962, led to the development of Pidgin English (and French) on the structural model of the Portuguese Trade Pidgin. There are some overt statements:

The English have in the River Gambia much corrupted the English language by Words or Literal Translations from the Portuguese or the Mandingoes.

(F. Moore, *Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa*, London, 1738, p. 294)

Relexification of Pidgin English with (e.g.) Dutch vocabulary items would be a continuation of the same process. There is indirect evidence like the following statements:

Yea the name of English-men were [sic] so famous in the East, that the Hollanders in their first trade thither, varnished their obscuritie with English lustre, and gave themselves out English.

(Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes, II:288.

The statement is dated 1591.)

The Dutch Creole, whatever its origin, of the slaves of Early New Amsterdam/York is an interesting historical topic upon which not even the preliminary spadework has been done.³ For present purposes, we can go into the matter no more deeply than to say that Dutch Creole existed in the state from sometime after 1625 until at least 1910. A wide-ranging researcher named J. Dyneley Prince (who also did some of the only work on American Indian language-based pidgins in the New York/New Jersey area) recorded some "Negerhollands" from Suffern, N. Y., in 1910. Although, in his day, he could hardly have anticipated the hypothesis that Pidgin English was at the base of the Dutch Creole (first formulated, insofar as I know, by William A. Stewart and myself in 1970), he did note that many of the Black Dutch forms were English-like rather than Dutch (*wān* 'when,' rather than *wāner*), and that there were such (typically Creole, in effect) grammatical features as the use of an unmarked verb in a past-time environment. These strikingly non-Dutch grammatical features are also characteristic of the Dutch Creole texts recorded by Hesseling (1905) and Josselyn de Jong (1924, 1926).⁴

It would be difficult—perhaps even impossible—to recover biographical details about Prince's "Negro Dutch" informant, seventy-five year old William De Freece. But we can look into earlier times and find a famous informant about whom a great deal is known—Sojourner Truth, formerly a slave girl named Isabella who reportedly spoke only "Dutch patois" until she was twenty-one. In an interview with Sojourner Truth (*Atlantic Monthly*, 1863), Harriet Beecher Stowe quoted the former slave girl in a variety of English which is not too far removed from that of inner city (and rural) Blacks today:

I journeys round to camp meetings, an' wherever folks is, an'
I sets up my banner, an' then I sings, an' then I preaches to
'em. I tells 'em about the sins of this people. A great many
always comes to hear me; an' they're right good to me, too,
an' say they want to hear me again.

("Sojourner Truth, The Libyan Sibyl,"
Atlantic Monthly, 11[1863]:478).

Sojourner Truth is represented by many writers as a very fluent and powerful public speaker—another of the many who put to scorn the notion that Black English is a limited language variety—even if she did occasionally have to grope for special vocabulary items like *intellect*. But a totally new language, learned at the linguistically advanced age of twenty-one or more, would be a surprising vehicle for such public performance. True, Sojourner Truth was an unusual woman—one who might have mastered

³ There are statements susceptible to reinterpretation in nonlinguistic works like Vanderbilt, 1881:560:

For a long time [among the Negroes of New York City] in this mingling of two languages, neither was grammatically spoken, bad English and worse Dutch was the result . . .

It is amusing that English Creole in the Guyanas today is often called "bad" English (by Dutchmen) and "bad" Dutch (by Englishmen and Americans).

⁴ Virgin Islands "Dutch" Creole appears to have been, in the verbal auxiliary system, at least, closer to the Afro-Portuguese Trade Pidgin which was more or less original in the slave trade than Sranan Tongo, of Surinam. Thus we find not only *le* (from *de*, by regular phonological change) as a durative aspect marker but *lo* (from Portuguese *logo*, see Schuchardt, 1882) as a future marker. There are many other structures which are common to the related Pidgin and Creole languages, like the anticipatory verb in

Slaep me ka slaep
(Hesseling, 1905:117)

the simple negation with *no*

Mi no wil 'Dat wil ik niet'
(*Ibid.*: 173)

the use of *kaba* 'already' (from Portuguese Trade Pidgin *caba*), and the use of the preposition *na*.

many language varieties. But it seems quite plausible that she was helped along by the fact that her original Dutch "patois" and her new Black English were rather closely related, that both of them had some historical roots in the maritime Pidgin English which was the source of the English varieties of the slave trade—among other varieties.

Even without the Dutch associations, Pidgin English had come to the New York area very early. Sarah Kemble Knight reported of her trip from Boston to New York (*Journal*, 1705) that she had heard a current story regarding the attempt of a couple of justices to communicate in their clumsy Pidgin English with an Indian who was fluent in it. The Indian—who had been accused of delivering stolen goods to a Black slave—failed to understand the Pidgin English form *grandy*, although that belongs to the earliest *Lingua Franca* stratum of the background of the language. It seems very likely that the Indians got the Pidgin English originally from their Black fellow slaves (Dillard, in press, Chapter IV); but they must have altered it somewhat, especially in the manner of introducing vocabulary items and loan translations ("calques") from the Indian languages. The Indian calque for *grandy* is the well-known *heap*. Although it is popularly believed that the history of Black English took place below the Mason-Dixon line, there are eighteenth century attestations of its use in Massachusetts (from Cotton Mather, among others), New York, Philadelphia (from Benjamin Franklin), Maryland, and Nova Scotia (Dillard, in preparation).

Within the colony of New York, perhaps the most impressive evidence is that provided by Justice Daniel Horsmanden's *The New York Conspiracy . . . 1741-42*. A witness at the trial of the alleged conspirators of the "Negro Plot," Jack posed some language problems although he spoke "English"

his dialect was so perfectly negro and unintelligible, it was thought it would be impossible to make anything of him without the help of an interpreter. (1810 edition, p. 127)

There were, however, two young (white) men who had learned the dialect and who acted as interpreters. Jack was an acknowledged leader in the Black community, so it can hardly be that he suffered from a speech impediment. Furthermore, Horsmanden gave enough samples of his speech like

His master live in tall house Broadway. Ben ride de fat horse. (p. 128)

and enough other references to the speech of contemporary Blacks like

. . . Backarara . . . 'Negro language, signifies white people' (p. 331)

. . . the house . . . This in the Negroes dialect signifies houses, i.e., the town. (p. 209)

to enable us to recognize the obvious relationship to other contemporary Black English varieties. Whites of the period were familiar with the existence of this variety in New York; but only a few like the two young men, apparently, really mastered it. Jack's not overly long testimony required three days of the court's time.

In the nineteenth century, Black English is widely represented in literary texts set in the New York area. James Fenimore Cooper, whose practices have been severely attacked but just as strongly defended, put a rather greatly decreolized Black English into the mouth of Jaap (the *Santansoe* novels) and of others of his Black characters:

I'm York nigger born, and nebber see no Africa. (*Santansoe*, p. 149)

Even Natty Bumppo included Pidgin English among his many linguistic accomplishments. Mark Twain's brilliant criticism of Cooper's "Literary Offenses" goes aground here: In the world of Pidgin/Creole, many a speaker uses one variety of a language six days a week and quite another variety of the same language "on Sunday." Twain clearly transferred the relative linguistic simplicity of his midwestern youth to the polyglot complexity of the frontier, and in doing so committed almost as great a blunder as did Cooper in describing how several Indians jumped from a "sapling" and managed to miss a passing houseboat, one after the other.

Many other writers of the nineteenth century join Cooper in providing such evidence. Thomas Chandler Halliburton, a Nova Scotian who wrote under the pseudonym of Sam Slick, represented Black characters speaking English Creole or a somewhat decreolized variety all the way from Charleston, South Carolina, to Halifax, Nova Scotia.⁵ Halliburton's dialect forms, insofar as white dialects are concerned, figure prominently in historical dictionaries like the *Dictionary of Americanisms*. One wonders what special characteristics of Black English make it not subject to the same kind of documentation, for the dictionaries record none of the usages which Halliburton attributed to Blacks.

Stephen Crane's *The Monster*, one of his Whilomville stories, presented a heroic, dialect-speaking Henry Johnson whose cruel rejection by the white community after he had disfigured himself in rescuing a small boy is held to have influenced Ralph Ellison's *The Invisible Man*. Johnson says things like

I done tol' yer many's the time not to go a-foolin' an' a-proj-
jeekin' with them flowers. Yer pop don' like it nohow. (p. 9)

Another Black, Alex Williams, also speaks the dialect:

He mighty quiet ter-night. (p. 66)

These attestations were provided by an author who was a lifelong resident of the New York area.

It has been asserted (Stockton, 1966; Krapp, 1925) that there was a kind of literary conspiracy to misrepresent the English of Black speakers, falsely to represent a kind of "literary pseudo-Gullah" as the language of Blacks throughout the United States (and Nova Scotia). If there was such a conspiracy, it must have been the greatest in the history of literature—including eventually Black writers like Ellison, Charles W. Chestnutt, Zora Neale Hurston, and J. Mason Brewer (see the introduction to *Dog Ghosts and Other Texas Negro Folk Tales*, 1958). Everybody was in on it, including Charles Dickens, who put the following speech into the mouth of a New York City Negro of the 1840's:

Him kep a seat 'side himself, sa.

(*Martin Chuzzlewit*, p. 164)

It is patently absurd to postulate a literary conspiracy—otherwise unreported, and having no consequences except the linguistic ones—which included Madam Knight, Justice Horsmanden, Halliburton, Dickens (and, incidentally, Charles Lyell), Cooper, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Crane among its hundreds of connivers. (To be fair, we would have to postulate a Dutch branch including Prince and Van Loon.) We seem rather to be

⁵ New York was an important source of the ex-slaves who migrated to Nova Scotia in the eighteenth century (Ottley and Weatherby, 1967:39). At least one Black English variety still survives (Dillard, in preparation) in the Halifax area, where geographism sometimes ascribes a "Southern accent" to these long-time Canadian residents!

dealing with relatively accurate attestations—subject to exactly the same limitations as any literary attestations, including those of the older Germanic languages—over a long period of time and in many geographic areas by writers of many backgrounds, skills, and interests. Such uniformity as they represent may actually reflect a real uniformity. And the similarity of the New York attestations to the attestations from other areas may mean that Black English in New York was actually very similar to that of other areas. Variations were more in terms of social status, as in the famous differences between house servants and field hands (Frazier, 1957:13), than in geography.

But what of the notion, dear to many dialectologists, that Black English (conceived of as a "Southern" or "rural" dialect) found its way to New York in the World War II migrations? In its most basic sense, that notion is simply false. Dialects in the North were more greatly decreolized (Stewart, 1968) than those in the South, but they were completely merged with white dialects no more in New York than in Nova Scotia (Dillard, in preparation). Migrant dialects came into contact with Harlem dialects which were hardly more decreolized, especially among the younger children (Stewart, 1965; Dillard, 1967). The consequences of faulty dialect history have been frequent absurdity. Grier and Cobbs, in *Black Rage*, wrote of a subject who had been born and educated in "a large Northern city" that he spoke "the patois of the rural uneducated Negro of seventy-five years ago" (p. 98). Even if we believed such a statement in geographic terms, we could hardly accept the historical notion unless someone had invented an operational Time Machine. It is simply true that psychiatrists, like other non-linguists who have needed language information, have not been able to draw upon accurate information—whether grammatical or historical—about Black English.

Except for a few writers with intellectual curiosity like Prince, no one had looked at the language of Black people in Northern cities until it became fashionable to do so in the fad of social dialectology in the 1960's. Labov et al., 1968, now provides a gigantic corpus which shows just how much the English of Harlem teenagers differs from that of white New Yorkers.⁶ (An equivalent corpus from youngsters between six and ten would show much more difference.) There are at last some stirrings of educational responsibility toward the ghetto population. It is to be hoped that a sensible attitude toward Black English, a language with a long and honorable historical background, will be incorporated into the resultant efforts.

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⁶ Joan G. Fickett, *Aspects of Morphemics, Syntax, and Semology of an Inner-City Dialect (Merican)*, U. of Buffalo dissertation, 1970 presents material which is in many respects even more relevant, especially in that she points out that, while her Black informants who were born outside Buffalo may differ in phonological items, the grammar of "Merican" (approximately Stewart's Black English basilect) does not seem to vary with geographic origin.

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FACTS AND ISSUES CONCERNING BLACK DIALECT*

William A. Stewart

As the breakdown of racial barriers in American social and economic life is accelerated, greater numbers of young black people are finding it possible to go to schools which were once closed to them, and to seek jobs which until recently were out of their reach. But the swelling stream of black youths into previously all-white schools and vocations has not occurred without creating serious problems. And, although it is possible that some of these problems might (as has frequently been charged) be the result of white bigotry or black ineptitude, most of them seem rather to be a natural consequence of what social scientists have come to call "culture conflict" or, more dramatically, "the clash of cultures." What is meant by these terms is the kinds of misunderstandings and misjudgments which almost inevitably occur whenever the members of two or more cultural groups come together and attempt to interact. Most of the adherents to a particular culture tend to regard their own lifeways and social norms as indicative of the "natural" way for members of their own group (and, by extension, for members of other groups as well) to behave, even though the norms of different cultures are frequently different. Thus it is quite likely that the members of one cultural group will see the behavior of members of other cultural groups as something other than what it really is. The resulting misunderstandings and misjudgments often seriously impair basic communication (and therefore social relations) between the two groups, and thus constitute "culture conflict." Europeans, for example, are fond of saying that Chinese are sly and inscrutable, while the Chinese tend to categorize Europeans as coarse and lacking in self-control. Like the content of most stereotypes, these characterizations represent something more than malicious fantasies; they represent the behaviors of one culture whose functions have been misinterpreted by the members of another culture. (What the European sees as "inscrutability" in the Chinese is merely Chinese politeness, while the behaviors which the European used to

*The present article is the text of an essay which I submitted to Western Electric in New York to accompany a disc recording entitled *The Dialect of the Black American*, produced and recently released by their Community Relations Division. Western Electric has kindly consented to the separate publication of the essay in its original form, which includes a number of paragraphs (the first five) which were eventually omitted from the version accompanying the disc. In order to have the essay conform as closely as possible to the terminology used in the record itself, I had decided to use **black** in many instances where I would otherwise have used **Negro**. Yet, in resubmitting the original manuscript for publication here, I have not felt it worth the effort to go through the text and change every **black** to **Negro**, just to make the article conform in this respect to others I have written. For to do so would be to accord more importance to the matter of terminology than I feel it deserves. After all, the futility of thinking that basic attitudes toward American Negroes could be changed by means of superficial name-substitutions was pointed out almost forty years ago by Carter G. Woodson in an essay "Much Ado About a Name," published as an appendix to his book *The Mis-Education of the Negro* (Washington, D. C., 1933). Today's black militants and white liberals would stand to learn much from a reading of Woodson's critique of their most cherished preoccupation. Suffice it to say, then, that the use of the term **black** in the present article represents no real concession to the game of terminological musical chairs which Negroes and whites are continually playing with each other.

Dr. William A. Stewart is at present Co-director of the Education Study Center of Washington, D. C. Prior to his present position, he was a member of the research staff of the Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D. C. Dr. Stewart has been a recipient of several grants to carry out research in social dialectology and is most noted for his interest in the historical aspects of Black English. He has published widely in professional journals and participated in a large number of conferences and conventions.

indicate friendliness and honesty strike the Chinese as vulgar and excessive.) And, since cultural differences can exist between different social groups within a single nation, as well as between different nations, culture conflict can occur at the national as well as international level. In the United States, for example, many whites have traditionally regarded blacks as child-like and boisterous, while blacks have often felt whites to be cold and "hateful." As in the Chinese and European case, there is some behavioral basis for the mutual misunderstanding of white and black in the United States. For, it is an observable fact that blacks tend to use more laughter (as a gesture of friendliness), talk slightly louder, and use more of their bodies in gesturing than do whites. And it is very probably these differences between the two groups, as misinterpreted by the members of each, which are in part responsible for their respective stereotypes.

Apart from their demonstrable falseness, a serious effect of stereotypes derived from culture-conflict (such as that blacks are "childish" or that whites are "cold") is that, explaining observable behavioral differences as they do in terms of innate attributes, they preclude any eventual understanding of the truly social nature of such differences. For, if blacks are truly "child-like," then no amount of social awareness on the part of whites could be expected to alter that fact. And the same would of course be true of white "coldness." Consequently, when persons of good will decide that they simply must come to grips with such stereotypes, they usually adopt the one obvious strategy for countering claims of innate human differences—their total denial. In such a strategy, it is almost routine to appeal to universal human similarity. Thus, in countering beliefs that "Chinese are inscrutable" or "Frenchmen lack self-control," the usual argument is "The Chinese (or Frenchmen) are human beings, just like everyone else. Therefore, it is improbable that they are more inscrutable (or more lacking in self-control) than any other sample of human beings." In this kind of argumentation, the behavioral differences which originally motivated the stereotype are not dealt with. Rather, a denial of the validity of the stereotype has implicit in it a denial of the validity of the behavioral differences themselves. Indeed, so desperately is this strategy of total denial clung to by avowed opponents of racial and ethnic stereotyping that it has now become completely taboo to so much as mention racially or ethnically-correlated behavioral differences—even for the purpose of discrediting the etiology of popular stereotypes.

In the United States, the taboo against recognizing behavioral differences as a normal function of ethnic identity is strongest in the liberal social-science treatment of behavioral comparisons of blacks and whites. Indeed, observations to the effect that "blacks do X while whites do Y" or even "blacks do X more (or less) than whites do" are shunned as potentially racist. In all fairness, it should be pointed out that there is some historical justification for this attitude. For it is a fact that in the past the main source of contrastive statements about the behavior of blacks and whites was the slaveholding class. Favored with the opportunity of viewing their field hands at close quarters, the early slaveholders were quick to notice a number of differences between the behavior of the imported Africans and that of the colonial whites. (They noticed, for example, that Africans tended to engage in laughter more than whites did.) And succeeding generations of slaveholders were able to observe the continuation of differences in the behavior of American-born blacks and whites. As heirs to a social and economic system which did not appreciate the inherent equality of alternative ways of being human, the slaveholders focused on these differences as evidence of the inherent superiority of whites over blacks. (That blacks were known to laugh more than whites,

for example, was presented as evidence that blacks were more childish and carefree than whites.) In this way the Plantation Negro stereotype was created—a portrait of the American black man in which some very factual (though often exaggerated) data on black behavior was presented in defense of a very questionable theory of black inferiority. Indeed, so entwined did observational fact become with racist fancy through the Negro stereotype that, in the minds of most Americans, the two were almost inseparable. Consequently, when American social science finally took it upon itself to attack the racist view of Negro inferiority, it did so by rejecting the behavioral data of the Negro stereotype along with its genetic implications. And this has been the policy of the social sciences ever since. Hence today, in response to an assertion like "Blacks laugh excessively, therefore they are child-like by nature," one never hears an accurate response like: "Yes, blacks do tend to laugh in more situations than whites do; but this is not a sign of childishness, since laughter is used in black culture to express sociability in situations in which laughter would be inappropriate according to the norms of white culture." Instead, one hears something like: "Blacks are human beings, just like whites, so that it is wrong to claim that one is more child-like than the other. Furthermore, all human beings (white as well as black) laugh—and cry." Implicit in this kind of response is an assertion that, since both blacks and whites are human beings (and fellow Americans), then it is quite improbable that the one would naturally laugh more than the other. Then, when observation shows that blacks do indeed laugh in situations in which whites wouldn't, there is no place for the theorist to go but to psychological explanations which have a pathological bent, such as: "Black people must laugh a lot to cover up their misery," or "A depressing environment has caused them to rely upon immediate gratification, so that they get as much joy as they can out of any trivial event," or "Oppression has made them hysterical." Undoubtedly, explanations of this type will satisfy those who would avoid at any cost the recognition of ethnically-correlated behavioral differences as normal in American society. Moreover, such explanations may have a special appeal for whites whose social conscience is built upon a deep-seated sense of their own psychological superiority, or for blacks in whom self-pity has become a cherished substitute for self respect. No matter how comfortable they may be, however, psycho-pathological explanations of behavioral differences between blacks and whites, like genetic explanations, are largely artificial. And being artificial, they can hardly serve as reliable guides for dealing with such differences directly, or with their many social side effects.

In addition to the presumed egalitarian stance of liberal social scientists, there are other attitudinal barriers to the recognition of distinctively-black behaviors as normal behaviors. Of these, perhaps the most significant is the deep shame which so many upwardly-mobile blacks have felt over the existence of visible differences between the way members of their own ethnic group behave in public (i.e., in the presence of whites) and the way the public (i.e., the white population) behaves. Justified or not, this shame goes back many generations. Long ago, it motivated Negro slaves of the house-servant class to give up many of the distinctively-black (and often African-derived) behaviors of the field hands in favor of the more prestigious (and European-derived) norms of their white masters. But, in the process, they often over-compensated. If the field hands were seen as acting too loud and boisterous in comparison to the "quality" whites, then the house servants would often become overly quiet and reserved. Yet, though the resultant modifications of black fieldhand behavior were seldom brought completely into line with the white models, they nevertheless were

often strikingly different from the more "characteristic" (i.e., more African) black behaviors. Thus the modified behaviors joined with the unmodified ones to create an extremely wide range of variation within the black community, whether slave or free. And, today, image-conscious Negroes are fond of pointing to this range (particularly to the "respectable" end of it) as evidence that "typical" black behaviors do not exist—as if the existence of behavioral variations amongst blacks were enough to preclude the existence of behavioral contrasts between blacks and whites. Logically weak though this image-conscious denial of distinctively-black behavior may be, it unites with the current intellectual aversion to the topic to render exceedingly controversial any serious study of the folk culture of black Americans. And this, in turn, makes it extremely difficult to deal competently with the many cases of innocent yet highly problematic conflict between the black and mainstream cultures in America's changing society. Returning to the problems of black youths entering previously all-white, mainstream institutions for the first time, it is possible to trace out the detrimental effect which such attitudes have had on attempts to deal with learning problems (actually, behavioral conflicts) in one socially-important domain—that of language.

Of the many and varied problems which the requirements of the classroom and the office may present for young black people, conformity to the complex maze of norms defining "correct" English is one of the most imposing. For better or for worse, it is a fact that a variety of English which conforms to such norms (i.e., what is often called *standard English*) is required for many educational purposes and in many vocational situations. Yet, it is also a fact that a significantly high number of black students and employees lack the necessary skills in standard English, not only when they enter school for the first time, but often when they finish school and take up a job as well. The precise extent to which this problem exists, and its actual effect on educational and vocational opportunities, need not be of concern at the moment. Apparently, it exists enough to have motivated a special focus on language arts in educational programs designed for "disadvantaged" students, while its effects on total academic achievement and professional success seem to have been great enough to make this focus a continuing one. But, to whatever extent the problem exists and affects academic and professional performance, something should be done about it. And nothing meaningful can be done about the difficulties which many black students and employees have with standard English unless the nature of that problem is understood, and programs are based upon that knowledge.

Until linguists began to debate with them, educators assumed that the lack of skill which many black people demonstrated with standard English was in fact a lack of skill in handling language *per se*. Pronunciations like *nuttin'* or *nuffin'* for *nothing*, sentence patterns like *he workin'* for *he's working* or *we ain't go* for *we didn't go*, and word usages like *waste* for *spill* were all regarded as random errors in the stream of speech, the cause of which was laziness, carelessness, or underdeveloped audio-lingual skills. Accordingly, these "mistakes" were labeled "mispronunciations," "bad grammar," and "poor word usage," respectively. So certain were educators of the validity of their diagnosis of language containing such "mistakes," and so forceful and persistent in their condemnation of them, that those who normally spoke this way soon came to believe in the inferiority of their own speech. So today, one hears many blacks refer to even their own nonstandard speech by such terms as "talkin' bad" or "usin' bad grammar" or "talkin' broken English." Now, if these were random mistakes, reasoned the educators, then they ought to be corrected randomly. And

correct them they did. The only trouble was that the corrections didn't always work or weren't easily extendable. One could tell a student that *he workin'* ought to be said as *he is working*, for example, and applaud the results when he promptly repeated the phrase the "correct" way. But then, when that same student took it upon himself to correct his usual *we workin'* to *we is working*, the teacher would have to inform him that it was wrong. In the same way, a student would be rewarded for changing *we ain't go* to *we didn't go*, but faulted if he changed *we ain't gone* to *we didn't gone* instead of *we haven't gone*. And, as if that weren't enough, the keen black student who grasped the fact that his *ain't* became *didn't* in standard English in some cases and *haven't* in others, and who then confidently corrected *he ain't gone* to *he haven't gone* would suddenly find to his dismay that that, too, was wrong. Thus, while the teachers continued to correct their black students' English, the students would continue to make the same old "mistakes"—and sometimes a few new ones to boot. Of course, prolonged educational failure of such magnificent proportions must inevitably become a public issue, and when it does, it requires either a solution or an excuse. And since the educators of black children hadn't been able to solve the language problem, they looked around for an explanation of it which would shift the blame away from the educational process. Some, particularly in the South, were inclined to resurrect the theory of genetic inferiority. But genetic explanations of the low academic achievement of blacks were not popular in the North. Consequently, an explanation had to be found which would not place the blame on the school, but at the same time would not lay it at the door of black genetic structure. Ironically, the possibility of ascribing black language problems to genetic factors itself suggested a ready alternative. For a debate had been going on for some time in the social sciences as to whether certain behavioral characteristics of human groups were predetermined by their genetic endowment or were simply a result of the workings of their environment. Environment, then, became the scapegoat for the low academic achievement of American blacks. The problem was merely to find a way to blame language problems on the environment. This was eventually done by claiming that there were psychologically "unstimulating" environments which, because of a dearth of intellectual stimuli, failed to motivate language development in children raised in their confines. There was a tacit assumption, of course, that the environment of most lower-class blacks was of this type. But, since language is very much a social phenomenon, it must have seemed a bit far-fetched, even to educators, to attribute a purported language deficit entirely to a poor physical environment. Something social was needed; and it was supplied by the widely-held belief that children learned language entirely from adults. Since many lower-class black families were known to be one-parent families, and since many lower-class black mothers were thought to communicate less with their children than white and middle-class mothers did, it seemed reasonable to conclude that there was a breakdown among lower-class blacks of the normal patterns of transmission of language from parent to child. Consequently, to the educator's random correction of black students' English, social psychologists were able to furnish a pseudo-scientific justification that these students were "non-verbal," or "verbally destitute," or "poorly language," or "linguistically deprived." It should be noted that the traditional view of black nonstandard speech as made up of articulatory blunders, incomplete sentences, and a lack of vocabulary furnished a fertile ground for the sophistic theory that lower-class blacks failed to learn language at home.

If the view of black nonstandard speech as unstructured and the characterization of lower-class black social life as non-verbal seemed reasonable

to educators and psychologists, they seemed seriously wrong to linguists and anthropologists. At best, they did not accord with otherwise universal truisms about human language and social behavior. For linguists had never found a language (or a variety of a language) without its own structure, while anthropologists had never encountered a social group in which language did not play a central role, and was not transmitted from generation to generation. At worst, these assessments of black language and life stood as evidence of a lack of common sense as well as a lack of contact with black reality on the part of those who made them. For the fact that lower-class blacks would make some "mistakes" in their English (e.g., they might say *bofe* for *both* or *we tired* for *we are tired*) but not others (e.g., they would never say *boke* for *both* or *tired we* for *we are tired*) should itself be clear evidence of structure in their language. And anyone walking down the street in a black ghetto, or passing by the playground of a black school, could hardly avoid having his ears bombarded by the incessant chatter of supposedly "non-verbal" children. But if linguists and anthropologists were somewhat amused by the absurdity of the educationalist and social-psychologist views of why blacks were having language problems in the schools, they were very much alarmed by the widespread popularity of these views, and by their devastating effects on the self-respect and academic achievement of black students. Consequently, a few linguists and anthropologists began to intervene by presenting a culture-conflict model of black educational failure and derivative suggestions for curriculum reform.

To date, the linguistic contribution has been by far the largest, involving proof of the linguistic integrity of black nonstandard dialect (through the description of many of its structural characteristics), suggestions for teaching standard English to speakers of black dialect (through the comparison of structural characteristics of the two forms of English), and an assertion of black linguistic identity (through the finding of evidence that black dialect evolved independently from white dialects of English). The one thing linguists have not yet done has been to bring about uniformity in the use of a term for the nonstandard speech of black people. *Negro dialect* is the term most well established by past usage, while *Black English* now seems to be gaining currency. But other terms have also been used, such as *Negro English*, *N.N.E.* or *NNE* (standing either for *nonstandard Negro English* or for *Negro nonstandard English*), *Black folk speech*, and *Black dialect*. (In the written use of these terms, words like *dialect* and *speech* are sometimes capitalized and sometimes not.) All of these terms have been used at one time or another by serious scholars, and each has its advantages and its drawbacks. Linguists have leaned toward *Negro dialect* because it parallels terms like *Scottish dialect*, and because *dialect* is the linguist's technical word for a language variety. But non-linguists have been less receptive of terms containing this word, because of the somewhat derogatory connotation of *dialect* in popular usage. But then the terms *Black English* and *Negro English*, which avoid this problem, share the common weakness that they can too easily be taken as applying to standard as well as nonstandard speech, just as long as it is used by black people. This allows those who happen to be ashamed of the non-standard speech of lower-class blacks to dismiss it as a broken and degenerate jargon, and to designate the standard English often spoken by educated black people as the "real" Black English. The one term which seems to avoid all of these difficulties is *Black folk speech*. It has its own drawback, however, which is that the word *folk* has enough of a rural suggestion about it to make the term awkward when applied (as it now frequently must be) to urban situations.

But in spite of the terminological flux, and in spite of occasional differences of opinion among linguists as to the best analytical procedures to use or the right interpretation of the data gathered, the evidence in support of the structural integrity of black nonstandard dialect was overwhelming. Not only was it established that the dialect had a sound system and a grammatical structure of its own, but it was also discovered that in certain ways its structure was even more communicatively efficient than that of standard English. For example, black dialect turned out to have a special use of *be* which indicates extended or repeated action, and a special use of *been* (usually stressed) to indicate the completion of an action in the remote past. Thus a speaker of black dialect would consistently distinguish between *Dey be singin' in church* (meaning that they are in the habit of doing it) and *Dey singin' in church* (meaning that they are doing it at the moment), or between *I bought it* (meaning that it was bought at some unspecified time) and *I been bought it* (meaning that it was bought long ago). In standard English, there is no grammatical way to make such distinctions; one can only say *They are singing in church* and *I bought it*, no matter which of the precise meanings expressed in black dialect are intended. Yet, even where black dialect and standard English might agree in the meaning expressed by a set of parallel grammatical constructions, there could be differences in the form of these constructions. For example, both black dialect and standard English have possessive constructions of the type noun-plus-noun, where the first noun refers to the possessor and the second noun to the thing possessed. But while standard English requires the use of a special possessive marker (written *'s*) at the end of the possessor noun in such constructions, black dialect does not. Accordingly, one must say *my uncle's car* in standard English, but may say *my uncle car* in black dialect, although the meaning of the two utterances is identical. Of course, there were also numerous grammatical constructions which were identical in both meaning and form in black dialect and standard English, such as the modification of nouns by adjectives placed before the noun. That is, one would normally say *I live in a big house* in both black dialect and standard English, but one would not say *I live in a house big* in either. (Black dialect does indeed have a construction of the type *my house big*, but this is equivalent to standard English *my house is big*, rather than to *my big house*.) Of course, it goes without saying that linguists found both similarities and differences between black dialect and standard English in the matter of pronunciation, although such differences between the two kinds of English seemed to be greater than in the case of word-equivalents. In other words, it appeared to be more likely that black dialect and standard English would use the same word for a particular object, than that they would have the same pronunciations for that word. And although an obvious exception to this observation is provided by the frequent use of slang or "jive talk" by many speakers of black dialect, particularly in the larger cities, the vast majority of slang expressions are by their very nature unstable and do not remain in use for long. At any rate, there is some doubt as to whether even those slang expressions which are used exclusively by blacks ought to be considered a characteristic of black dialect as such, since they are generally absent from rural varieties of black dialect, while in urban ghettos they may occur together with the pronunciation and grammar of either black dialect or standard English. It is probably best to consider black slang a separate entity from black dialect, with the understanding that the two are often used together.

To the linguists who studied black language usage, the pedagogical implications of many of their findings seemed obvious and incontrovertible

—ever when these went against established educational views, which indeed they often did. For example, before the linguistic intervention, and in response to their own appraisal of the special language problems of black lower-class school children, a number of prominent educational psychologists had urged the creation of language-enrichment programs for lower-class black children of pre-school age. In the view of these psychologists, such programs were needed to offset the failure of many black children to acquire in their home environment what were felt to be basic language skills. Yet linguists found that virtually all of the lower-class black children whom they interviewed were fluent speakers of a structurally normal (though often nonstandard) variety of English. This meant that, no matter how emotionally appealing they might be, programs of the language-enrichment type were founded on a false premise. And, since many language-enrichment programs were already beginning to fail, their proven linguistic inaccuracy could easily be a contributory factor to that failure. But the pedagogical implications of linguistic findings on black language usage were by no means all so negative. For, in detailing many of the structural differences between black dialect and standard English, linguists were actually providing a blueprint for the development of special procedures for the teaching of standard English to speakers of black dialect.

In their pedagogical philosophy as well as in their content, these procedures were a far cry from the random correction of "mistakes" which had previously characterized the so-called "language arts" for black students. In recognizing that most of these "mistakes" were the result of confusion on the part of the learner between the structural patterns of his own dialect and those of standard English, the linguistic model of structural interference (i.e., the structural influence of one language or dialect on the comprehension or production of another) opened the way for the use in inner-city classrooms of modified foreign-language teaching techniques. Incorporating structural comparisons between the language of the learner and the language being taught, these techniques had originally been developed for the teaching of such clearly "foreign" languages as Arabic, Chinese, and Spanish to speakers of English and, later, for the teaching of English to speakers of foreign languages. (This last application came to be known professionally as TEFL—teaching English as a foreign language, TESL—teaching English as a second language, or TESOL—teaching English to speakers of other languages.) Although it was true that black dialect shared an infinitely larger number of structural features with standard English than did languages like Arabic, Chinese, or Spanish, the linguists pointed out that this merely made the areas of structural conflict that much more difficult for black students to overcome without pedagogical assistance. In learning standard English, the speaker of Arabic or Chinese would know from the start that he was faced with a language-learning problem, since it would be obvious that the language being learned was not the same language as his own. For the black learner of standard English, however, the fact that what was being presented in school seemed very similar to his own speech would be likely to convince him that he already knew the intricacies of the school language. For the English-speaking learner of Spanish, it soon becomes obvious that Spanish has two different equivalents of the verb *to be*: *ser* and *estar*. It is obvious, not so much because these verbs have somewhat different meanings, but rather because they sound and look different—both from each other and from English *to be*—and because they inflect differently. For the speaker of black dialect, however, it is by no means obvious that, while his own *is* and *be* are different verbs with different functions, *is* is merely an inflected variant of *be*.

in standard English. Nor, in fact, is this likely to be any more obvious to the teacher. For, if standard English has the verb forms *be* and *is*, and the black student is observed to have them in his own speech as well, then one might easily assume that he uses them just as in standard English. And other differences, even when involving nothing more than simple inflectional variations, can be just as confusing. The black student's *here it is* matches standard English, but his *here dey is* does not; his *he don't want it* is at variance with standard English, while his *we don't want it* is not. Because of the subtlety of the structural relationships between black dialect and standard English, the average black student simply cannot be expected to perceive with complete accuracy exactly where his dialect leaves off and the standard language begins. Indeed, this may be one reason why waves of foreign immigrants, speaking languages like Italian, Yiddish, and Ukrainian, have been able to acquire standard English within one or two generations in the United States, while American blacks have not been able to do so as completely over a much longer span of time.

Another pedagogically important fact which emerged from the linguistic research on black dialect was its relative uniformity throughout the United States. Sometimes obscured by age, sex, and socio-economic differences within a single black community, the underlying uniformity of black dialect from region to region became apparent as soon as these social variables were controlled for. Thus, nonstandard dialect with essentially the same structural characteristics was reported in use by young, lower-class black males in such far-flung urban centers as Washington, Harlem, Chicago, San Antonio, and Oakland. And, not surprisingly, these characteristics were also found to be prevalent in the nonstandard speech of blacks in the rural South. Minor variations in pronunciation, grammar, and idiom did indeed occur, but the variations within black dialect seemed to be of less pedagogical importance than those differences from standard English (and even from white nonstandard speech) which proved so characteristic of black dialect. For example, in the so-called Geechee variety of black dialect spoken in Charleston, South Carolina, one might say *we house* where speakers of other varieties of black dialect would, like speakers of standard English and white nonstandard dialect, say *our house*. Yet Geechee shares with other varieties of black dialect virtually all of the structural features mentioned earlier, plus many more. And it is such features which distinguish black dialect from both standard English and white nonstandard dialect of whatever type. Obviously, the pedagogical significance of this state of affairs lies in the possibility it provides for developing language-arts material with an extremely wide applicability. It also means, of course, that separate research programs will not be needed in each and every black community in the United States; the scientific findings for one community will be likely to have a high degree of validity—and therefore of pedagogical applicability—in other communities throughout the nation.

Finally, of the various pedagogical recommendations which were made by linguists who studied black dialect, there was one which stemmed less from their immediate research than from their professional view of the basic equality of all varieties of human speech, and their knowledge that it was commonplace for people to learn and use two or more varieties of a language. This was the recommendation that black dialect be used side-by-side with standard English in the classroom. Some linguists felt that this should be done only in the early grades, and only as a way of relating standard English to the pre-school language of black children. Others, however, envisioned the eventual retention of black dialect as a pedagogical companion of standard English through the secondary level, and perhaps beyond. At first, this recommendation was limited to oral usage. But more

recently, a few linguists have begun to consider the use of a written form of black dialect as a device in beginning reading instruction for those black children whose knowledge of standard English proves inadequate for decoding traditional reading texts.

If the pedagogical implications of the linguistic research on black dialect seemed obvious and incontrovertible to most linguists and anthropologists, they nevertheless appeared decidedly radical and controversial to many educators and educational psychologists. The reason was that the linguistic view of nonstandard speech in general, and the linguistic findings on black dialect in particular, clearly argued against certain social beliefs, theoretical assumptions, and methodological traditions which were a part of the educational heritage.

Perhaps the most controversial finding to emerge from this linguistic research was that black nonstandard dialect was different from white nonstandard dialect—even in the Deep South. Moreover, research on the history of black and white dialect in North America revealed that they had always been different. This obviously meant that a white-black dichotomy in American language usage was as old as the earliest settlement of the colonies by European and African stock. And if this was true for language, it was very probably true for other kinds of cultural behavior as well. But in the view of many socially liberal educators, this was an uncomfortable conclusion to come to. For it attacked the cherished "melting pot" image of American society, in which foreign immigrants were supposed to be culturally transformed into Anglo-Saxon-like Americans within one or two generations. What is more, American blacks were often pointed to as exemplifying the most complete transformation ever effected by the American melting pot. Because, for reasons mentioned earlier, it had become scientifically taboo to admit to racially or ethnically-correlated behavioral differences, the entire educationalist rhetoric on the achievement problems of black school children had been adjusted to the strictly monocultural perspective implicit in the melting-pot image. And since it was an unwritten rule of this perspective that behavioral differences between black and white children had to be denied, ignored, or attributed to some sort of abnormal (i.e., neither natural nor permanent) cause, it was most convenient for educators, to accept the environmental-pathology model furnished by the psychologists as an explanation for the endemically low school-language performance of black children. It was on this model, then, that the educators had based virtually all of their remedial methods for dealing with black children who had language problems in school. Yet, here were the linguists saying that black nonstandard speech was fully developed and well-organized language, and thereby refuting the entrenched language-pathology model. And, what was still worse, these linguists were saying that black nonstandard dialect was not the same as white nonstandard dialect, asserting thereby that the American melting pot had lumps in it, and that one of these lumps was black! It soon became apparent to many educators that if they accepted the linguistic view of black dialect, with its obvious pedagogical implications, they would not merely be accepting new information of an innocuous kind; they would be acknowledging the refutation of their entire approach to the education of black children. Some educators were able to do this without misgivings, but others were not.

For those who were unwilling to accept the linguists' conclusions with respect to the nature of black dialect, and who wanted their opposition to appear reasonable to impartial observers, it was necessary to find a way to dismiss the linguistic findings on the dialect as something other than empirical data. A possible way of doing this was suggested by the striking

similarity between the transcriptions of black dialect published by the linguists and the kind of black dialect one could find in the older plantation literature. Given this resemblance, it was easy for opponents of the linguistic viewpoint to make the charge that the linguists (who were mostly white) had drawn their material, not from the real speech of black people, but from the traditional stereotype of black speech. Although those who made this charge were correct in discerning a similarity between the linguistic transcriptions of black speech and traditional literary black dialect, they were quite wrong in assuming that the former was a copy of the latter, or that the latter was entirely artificial. In general, the older plantation literature was written by whites who had been born and raised on plantations, and who had learned the dialect in childhood from black playmates (who often were their only playmates) on the plantation. Thus, even if slightly concentrated at times, the black dialect to be found in the plantation literature was a fairly accurate rendition of the actual speech of plantation fieldhands. And the reason why the up-to-date linguistic transcriptions of the speech of lower-class urban blacks turned out to look so much like the plantation dialect was simply that modern urban black dialect was a direct descendent of plantation black dialect. This fact might be an uncomfortable one for those who can see nothing but degradation and pathology in the black plantation experience; but the problem lies there, and not in the reliance by linguists on the literary representation of an older form of black dialect.

While such objections as there were to the linguistic description of black dialect focused initially on the question of black-white differences, this did not remain the central issue for long. After all, differences between black and white children in school-language performance were a matter of record, and therefore required some sort of explanation. The language-pathology model advanced by the psychologists had of course been an attempt to furnish one, but its validity had been seriously challenged by the linguistic evidence. And while, to most educators, the language-difference model might be less compatible with their assimilationist values than its psychological predecessor had been, it was still infinitely more comfortable than the other available model for explaining black-white differences in academic achievement: the genetic-inferiority model. Furthermore, the linguists' claims for the historical and structural integrity of black dialect (as a distinct entity from standard English and white nonstandard dialect) came at a time of growing self-awareness on the part of American blacks. Soon, educators found that they could openly entertain a linguistic model of black-white dialect differences without as great a danger of being interpreted as inferring thereby that black people were inferior. In fact, the wheel turned so far that one was now more likely to be considered a racist for advocating the language-pathology model than for accepting the language-difference model.

It is somewhat ironic that, while educational resistance to the linguistic view of black dialect died down rather quickly on the issue of its social and structural uniqueness, it continued on in terms of another issue which actually had nothing to do with such potentially controversial matters as racial or ethnic differences in language usage, or the structural details of black dialect itself. Rather, the issue which turned out to be much more deep-seated and enduring had to do with the traditional linguistic view of the nature of nonstandard dialects in general and their relationship to standardized dialects. As part of their professional training, linguists learned that virtually all of the world's languages were made up of a number of different varieties, or *dialects*, and that each of these had its own history of development into what it was, its own linguistic structure

including a set of sounds, a grammar, and a vocabulary), and its own particular function in the society which used it. Of course, linguists also knew that the developmental history and grammatical structure of only one or two of a particular language's dialects would be likely to have been noted down in books, and that this fact was often erroneously taken as evidence that only such dialects of a particular language had a history and a grammar. At the same time, linguists realized that these social facts concerning the different dialects of a language had nothing to do with the historical validity and structural integrity of any dialect, be it standard or nonstandard, be it of high prestige or low. In other words, insofar as the comparative structural and historical evaluation of different dialects were concerned, linguists were relativistic and egalitarian. In a sense which went to the very core of their professional outlook, linguists regarded any dialect as every bit as "good" as any other dialect.

Perhaps inevitably, the professional relativism with which the linguists treated black dialect and standard English clashed with the normativistic comparisons which educators had traditionally relied on in their attempts to replace the one with the other. Though it appeared in the context of black dialect, this basic conflict between linguistic relativism and educational normativism was not motivated by the unique social or structural characteristics of black dialect; it would have occurred over any other kind of nonstandard dialect which linguists might have chosen to study and describe. It just happened that, because of a national focus on racial inequities in American public education, the special school-language problems of black children had caught the attention of a number of linguists.

To start with, many educators were disturbed by the linguists' assertion that black dialect served as useful a purpose in the black community as standard English did in mainstream life, and therefore that the two forms of English could, and should, coexist in the language repertoire of those who found it necessary to function in both societies. The reason why this assertion upset even many of those educators who recognized nonstandard dialect as "real" language was that it seemed unrealistic in terms of a tacit assumption which American education had made concerning the use of different varieties of English. If a name were needed for this assumption, a fairly descriptive one might be the "single space" theory of dialect usage; for the assumption was that an individual had room in the language "compartment" of his brain for only one variety of a language. Accordingly, a person could be expected to know and use a nonstandard dialect, or to know and use standard English, but that it would overtax his language-production capacity to expect him to know and use both. Indeed, it followed quite reasonably from the "single space" theory that the continued use of nonstandard dialect by a school child was a sure sign that the child would not learn standard English well. Perhaps one reason why educators clung so tenaciously to the "single space" theory of dialect usage was that, if true, it automatically gave rise to a pedagogical corollary which indicated that standard English could be taught quite easily. For, if it was true that the knowledge and use of nonstandard dialect blocked the learning and use of standard English, then prohibiting the use of nonstandard dialect should eventually cause the student to forget it; and forgetting it would create a language vacuum into which standard English would flow almost by itself. It was a belief in this "vacuum" theory which led many English teachers to spend more time discouraging the use of nonstandard dialect by their pupils than in actually teaching them how to use standard English.

One way in which linguists were able to counteract the resistance to black dialect stemming from a commitment to the "single space" theory was

by pointing out that in Europe, for example, it was normal for educated persons to know and use more than one dialect of their national language. Another way was to suggest the analogy of, say, a Japanese merchant who found it necessary to do business in France. Obviously, the fact that he already spoke Japanese would not mean that he could never learn to speak French, nor would the learning of French force him to give up his knowledge of Japanese. If taught French well, he would then be able to use both languages—each on its appropriate occasion. And, if a demonstration of the falsity of the “vacuum” theory were needed, it would be pointed out that forcing the Japanese merchant to stop using his native language would hardly result by itself in any ability on his part to speak French.

While even the resistance based on pedagogical normativism has been disappearing from the educational perspective on black dialect, it must be admitted that educators are still left with a rather formidable amount of technical information on the dialect to be digested. Ideally, educators at all levels should learn about the historical background of black dialect, and its overall structural relationship to standard English. English teachers, in particular, should familiarize themselves with some of the more important points of structural conflict between standard English and black dialect, in order to understand the difficulties which a black student may have with classroom language requirements. Employers, too, should come to understand that the use of black dialect by an employee or applicant is in no way an indication of low mental ability.

The once-frequent charges of racism and stupidity which black students and employees and white educators and employers have leveled at each other are now giving way to a realization that much-needed knowledge and understanding, not name-calling, offers the most hope for overcoming the problems associated with the entry of black youths into mainstream schools and jobs. This essay is offered as an initial step toward the knowledge and understanding necessary to deal with language-conflict and, by implication, with other areas of innocent yet destructive culture-conflict between black and white.

APPENDIX: FURTHER READINGS ON BLACK LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

After decades of scientific and pedagogical neglect, the language and culture of black Americans has finally begun to receive the attention they merit from scholars and educators. In fact, the literature on these subjects is currently in a state of rapid expansion, as a glance at the “Black Studies” section of any good bookstore will confirm. Yet this literature is of very mixed quality, and the beginner will do well to seek guidance on the initial selection.

The following is a list of primary reading on black language and culture which are of uniformly high quality, having been written for the most part by professional linguists and anthropologists. They have all been written with the intelligent layman in mind, but they are by no means “popular” treatments. At times, the layman may find them too comprehensive, or the treatment too technical, because the authors have also written these works as contributions to their particular disciplines, and therefore have been addressing their colleagues as well. But this has an advantage; it gives these works more than passing value. As the reader becomes more informed in the area, he can return to these works again and again, and discover new information and insights which were previously obscure. The vast majority of these works deserve to be in the private collection of anyone seriously interested in Afro-American language and culture. (Indeed, one item—that of Herskovits—has already become a classic in this field.) Consequently, only items which are still in print have been listed,

and procurement information (such as the publisher and price) has been included in every case. The addresses of most of the publishers will be known to any bookseller, except perhaps the two non-commercial ones which, for the record, are:

The Center for Applied Linguistics
1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

and

The Florida FL Reporter
801 N.E. 177th Street
North Miami Beach, Florida 33162

The list is divided into two parts: those collections, anthologies, or books which supply background information on black culture, and those which deal directly with black dialect and associated pedagogical issues. Although by no means the only reliable or informative works of their kind on black language or culture, these will give the ambitious reader a good start, and the bibliographic references which they include can serve as a guide to more extensive reading.

SECTION I: CULTURAL BACKGROUND

1. Roger D. Abrahams, *Positively Black*. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970. Pp. xii, 177. Price, \$5.95 hardcover, \$2.95 paperback.

A study of black identity through black performance patterns. The book contains an insightful discussion of what could be called "black talk" (meaning the use of language among black people, rather than its form as is emphasized by the term "black dialect"), in which the author shows the interrelationship of discourse styles, speaker roles, and certain folklore motifs.

2. Ulf Hannerz, *Soulside: Inquiries into Ghetto Culture and Community*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1969. Pp. 236. Price, \$5.95 hardcover, \$2.95 paperback.

An ethnographic study of a modern black inner-city neighborhood. The book is rich in its analysis of life styles and sex roles, and contains informative discussions of the function of rumor and gossip in the ghetto.

3. Melville J. Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past*. Boston: Beacon Hill Press, 1958. [A slightly updated re-issue of the 1941 text.] Pp. xxxii, 368. Price, \$2.45 per copy, paperback only.

Originally published in 1941, this was the first serious attempt to trace Afro-American social and behavioral patterns back to African sources. Chapter VIII, on language and the arts, contains a number of provocative observations on possible African influences in the speech of New World Negroes. Has insightful comparative observations.

4. Charles Keil, *Urban Blues*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1966. Pp. xii, 231. Price, \$2.45 per copy, paperback only.

Although primarily a study of the urban style of blues singing, this book argues for, and illustrates, the existence of a black urban culture distinct from white or mainstream urban culture. Much of the perspective developed in the book on black music is directly transferable to other aspects of black culture.

5. John Szwed (editor), *Black America*. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1970. Pp. xvi, 303. Price, \$7.95 per copy.

A collection of 23 essays on various aspects of Afro-American language and culture; some with a historical, some a descriptive, and some a political orientation.

SECTION II: BLACK DIALECT

1. [Alfred C. Aarons, editor] "Dialects" by Jean Malmstrom; "Negro Children's Dialect in the Inner-City" and "Non-Standard Negro Dialects—Convergence or Divergence?" by J. L. Dillard; "Sociolinguistic Factors in the History of American Negro Dialects" and "Continuity and Change in American Negro Dialects" by William A. Stewart. [From *The Florida FL Reporter*, 1966-1968.] Price, \$1.25 for the five articles.

A packet of reprintings of articles on black dialect from past issues of *The Florida FL Reporter*, this collection is particularly useful in providing an understanding of the history and development of black dialect, and its position within the American dialect complex.

2. Alfred C. Aarons, Barbara Y. Gordon, and William A. Stewart (editors), *Linguistic-Cultural Differences and American Education* [=Vol. 7, No. 1 of *The Florida FL Reporter*, Spring/Summer 1969]. Pp. x, 176. Price, \$6.50 per copy.

A special anthology issue of *The Florida FL Reporter* devoted entirely to the implications for education of linguistic and cultural diversity in American society. Of the 43 articles included, almost half deal wholly or in part with black dialect.

3. Joan C. Baratz and Roger W. Shuy (editors), *Teaching Black Children to Read*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969. Pp. xiv, 219. Price, \$5.00 per copy.

Contains eight articles (five of them appearing for the first time in this book) on the implications of black dialect for beginning reading instruction. Some of the contributors suggest the use of elementary readers in the vernacular language of black children, and furnish sample texts in black dialect.

4. Ralph W. Fasold and Roger W. Shuy (editors), *Teaching Standard English in the Inner City*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1970. Pp. xx, 141. Price, \$5.00 per copy.

Contains six articles on the techniques of teaching standard English to speakers of black dialect. These readings will serve as an orientation for teachers of black students of all ages. The articles are uniformly rich in examples, both of the structural features of black dialect and the application of modified foreign language teaching techniques in the English classroom.

5. Irwin Feigenbaum, *English Now*. [Developmental Edition.] New York: New Century, Educational Division, Meredith Corporation, 1970. Teacher's Manual. Pp. viii, 158. Price, \$2.64 per copy. Student's Workbook. Pp. iv, 158. Price \$13.20 per package of 5. Reel-to-reel tapes are also available at \$156.00 per set of 14.

This is probably the first course in standard English designed specifically for speakers of black dialect, and based on a comparison of the two varieties of English. The pedagogical techniques utilized in the course are aimed at high school students and below, but the linguistic problems dealt with are shared by many adults as well.

6. Walter A. Wolfram, *A Sociolinguistic Description of Detroit Negro Speech*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969. Pp. xviii, 237. Price, \$5.00 per copy.

A detailed study of certain structural characteristics of the speech of Detroit Negroes, and their correlations with such social factors as age, sex, and economic status. Comparison with white usage in Detroit, and Negro usage in other cities, are made.

Section 6: Contrastive Dialectology

A CONTRASTIVE HAITIAN CREOLE-ENGLISH CHECKLIST

R. M. R. Hall
Beatrice L. Hall

1. Introduction

Teachers of English to speakers of other languages in the greater New York area are encountering in their classes increasing numbers of students at every age level from the French-speaking Caribbean. While the majority of these students come from Haiti, there is also some in-migration from the French islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique and from French Guiana and from the British islands of St. Lucia, and Dominica where a significant part of the population is French-speaking.

Since these students come from places where the official language is French, the teacher faced with such a student is almost sure to assume that the student is in fact a speaker of some variety of Standard French which is not too different from the French the teacher studied in school, and, as a result, he will expect normal sorts of French-speaker mistakes in English. In this assumption he will be aided and abetted by his student (or the student's parents) who will insist that the native language is French. The teacher is usually then astounded by the fact that many of the things in English which are very difficult for the French-speaker (e.g., the contrast between the simple present and the present continuous) come quite easily and naturally to his student while other things which are normally easy for the French speaker (e.g., the application of *he* only to masculine beings and *she* only to feminine ones) come only with great difficulty.

The plain truth of the matter is, of course, that such students are NOT native speakers of Standard French or anything close to it, whatever they or their parents may say. Their first language is, almost without exception, Caribbean French Creole, a language which shares with French only its vocabulary and, to some extent, its sound system but which is so different from it grammatically that these two kinds of speech must be considered to be two separate languages since the speaker of one cannot, without study, understand the other in any effective sense. To understand, then, why people from this region refer to themselves only as speakers of French (even though their command of that language may be barely minimal) one must know something about the socio-linguistic situation in the area. Both in Haiti and in Martinique, Guadeloupe and French Guiana the official language and the language of instruction in all schools is French. All public business is conducted in French and it is considered appropriate to speak only French on any kind of a public or official occasion. Almost all writing is also in French and there is in Haiti very little

Dr. R. M. R. Hall is at present Chairman of the Linguistics Department at Queens College, City University of New York, which has one of the first undergraduate TESL teacher training programs. He previously taught English as a second language at the American Language Institute of New York University and at the Centro Venezolano-Americano in Maracaibo, Venezuela. Dr. Beatrice L. Hall is an Assistant Professor of English and Linguistics at State University of New York at Stony Brook. She has also taught ESL at New York University. The Halls have been joint authors of a number of research articles and are now at work on a manual for teachers of English to speakers of Spanish.

literary tradition in Creole and in the other regions almost none at all. All of these facts combine to lend to French very high social prestige and to mark Creole as the language of peasants and illiterates (see Stewart, 1962a and 1962b, for further discussion of the social roles of Creole vs. French). Since a knowledge of French is a *sine qua non* for upward mobility, and since those who migrate to the United States are by and large members of the class with social aspirations, it is not surprising that, by a transference of Caribbean standards, these people claim French as their native language. For them to admit to outsiders that Creole is their native language would, in their eyes, stigmatize them as lower class and backward. However, it must be emphasized that, according to every reliable linguistic survey of the area, ALL social classes (except recent European immigrants) DO speak French Caribbean Creole and NOT Standard French as their first language. Indeed most of the middle-class residents of the area do speak very good Standard French but studies have shown that even this French is usually influenced in many more or less subtle ways by Creole and in no case can it be said to be the first or native language. Thus it must be emphasized that when dealing with students or their parents from this area their protestations that, "Yes, lots of other people do speak Creole but in *our* family we speak only French," are to be taken with a large grain of salt. It may be safely assumed that the language which will exercise the primary influence on the learning of English is not French but French Creole. The teacher must be acquainted with the facts of Creole structure if he is to help his students master English and it is our purpose here to sketch in broad outline the major facts of Creole grammar.

Although there are many minor differences between the Creole dialects as spoken in Haiti, Martinique, Guadeloupe, etc., they are all mutually intelligible and have the same basic grammar. The immediate basis for our description is Haitian Creole, both because there are many more speakers of it (perhaps 4,500,000) than of all of the other French Creoles put together and because Haitians are also far and away the most numerous group of French Creole speakers in the New York area.¹

2. PHONOLOGY

2.0 Consonants

The consonants of Haitian Creole are summarized in the following table:

p	t	(tʰ)	(kʷ)	k
b	d	(dʰ)	(gʷ)	g
f	s	ʃ		(h)
v	z	ʒ		
m	n	ɲ		(ŋ)
	l			r
w		y		

¹Our description is based primarily on the speech of two informants: Mrs. Horna Jean-Charles, a native of Port de Paix, and Miss Gemma Durand, a native of Port-au-Prince. We would like to thank both of them for their wonderfully cooperative understanding. Our thanks also go to the numerous Haitians who were our students at the American Language Institute of New York University and to our former colleagues there with whom we have discussed many of these problems. Our special thanks also go out to William A. Stewart, Education Study Center, Washington, D.C., who first roused our interest in the comparative study of the Afro-Caribbean Creole languages and with whom we have had many valuable discussions of Haitian Creole grammar. For more complete descriptions of Haitian Creole grammar see R. A. Hall, Jr. (1953) and Valdman (1970).

They may be contrasted with the following summary of English consonants:

p	t	č	k
b	d	ʃ	g
f	θ s	s	h
v	ð z	z	
m	n		ŋ
	l	r	
w			y

The following are the major points of difference between the two systems:

2. 1 Sounds present in English but lacking in Haitian Creole are /č/, /ʃ/, /θ/, /ð/ as in *church*, *judge*, *thin*, *then*. The usual substitutions are /š/, /ž/, /s/, /z/. A useful technique for teaching /č/ and /ʃ/ is to have the student pronounce /t/ plus /š/ and /d/ plus /ž/ in close juxtaposition, e.g. *what she is* said over and over at increasing tempo until the three words run together producing /wačiyz/. Then the element /č/ is isolated in word-initial position by diminishing the volume of the /wa/ until it disappears and the student is left saying *cheese* and then *what cheese* with a clear break between the two words. This can be reinforced by contrastive phonetic-semantic drills, for example, *watch the baby* with the teacher pointing to his eye vs. *wash the baby* with the teacher miming the act of washing. Other pairs of words for practice on the contrast of /č/:/š/ are *cheap* and *sheep*, *chip* and *ship*.

Once /č/ has been mastered, /ʃ/ should fall in line fairly rapidly.

The important thing to note about /θ/ and /ð/ in contrast to /s/ and /z/ is that /θ/ and /ð/ are not only frequently interdental; they are also *non-strident*—that is, English /θ/ and /ð/ in contrast with English, or Haitian, /s/ and /z/ are said with comparatively little air pressure. In teaching the student to produce /θ/ and /ð/ one should not only have him get his tongue forward into interdental position, one should also caution him to "say the sound very softly." It is useful to have him hold his hand about four inches in front of the teacher's mouth to feel the difference in air stream between /θ/ and /s/. This teaching technique is useful for speakers of any language who have difficulty with the English sounds /θ/ and /ð/.

2. 2 Sounds present in both languages but with different distribution.

2.2.1 Aspiration of Voiceless Stops

English /p/, /t/, /č/ and /k/ are all aspirated in initial position. This means that when any of these stop consonants is the first sound in a word it is followed by a light puff of air. When an /s/ precedes these consonants this puff of air is absent, as it usually is when the sound occurs in the middle of a word. This can easily be seen by holding one's hand in front of his mouth while comparing the pronunciation of *pin* (aspiration, phonetically [p^hin]) with *spin* (no aspiration) and *slipper* (usually, no aspiration).

Haitian /p/, /t/, and /k/ on the other hand are never aspirated. This poses a one way problem—that is, the Haitian has no difficulty in hearing English [p^h] [t^h], [k^h] as the equivalent of Haitian /p/, /t/, /k/ and separating them from all the other sounds of the English system, but his unaspirated /p/, /t/, /k/ will frequently sound to the English speaker like /b/, /d/, /g/, and lead the unwary English teacher into thinking that his student is confusing the voiceless stops of English with the voiced

ones. When teaching the differential control of aspiration it is much easier to establish the difference with /p/ than with /t/, /t̥/ or /k/; once the student has learned to control this feature in the labial area he can then transfer it to sounds articulated farther back in the mouth.² While aspiration is not especially easy to teach, among methods that are reasonably successful are:

- a) telling the student to puff his lips out so that the inner edges of the lips meet when a /p/ is articulated in initial position and
- b) exaggerating the amount of aspiration by pronouncing the word emphatically and breathily.

2.2.2. Affrication of /t/, /d/, /k/ and /g/.

In the chart of Creole consonants, after /t/ and /d/ and before /k/ and /g/ the sounds [t̪], [k̪], [d̪], [g̪] are given in parentheses. This is to indicate that these sounds are significant positional variants, or allophones, of /t/, /k/, /d/, /g/. When /t/ etc. are followed by /i/, /y/ or /w/, they affricate, that is, they are followed by a very lightly articulated fricative made in the same place in the mouth. The degree of affrication varies greatly from speaker to speaker and from region to region. For some speakers this is only a light /y/-like effect (palatalization) following the consonant and it does not interfere with their intelligibility in English but only makes them sound somewhat foreign. For other speakers the degree of affrication is great enough to interfere with intelligibility and work must be done with them to get them to use their non-affricated allophones before /i/, /y/ and /w/.

2.2.3 The interchange of /l/ and /n/.

Although /l/ and /n/ are separate distinctive sounds in Haitian Creole, there exist a small number of words in which they are in either systematic variation, conditioned by their phonetic environment, as in the definite article *la* which varies with *na*, or in apparently free variation, as in /kunya/ "now" which varies with /kulya/. This habit of interchanging /l/'s and /n/'s seems to be carried over into English by at least some Haitians so that one hears, for example, from Haitians in New York the principal island on which the city is located referred to as /malhatan/.

2.2.4 The pronunciation of /l/

General American English has two varieties of /l/ which are traditionally termed a bright *l* and a dark (or dull) *l*. For example, most Americans have a bright /l/ in words such as *light* and *leap*, *peel* and *pile*; they have a dark /l/ in *loop* and *love*, *Bill* and *pencil*. Haitian Creole has only a bright /l/; the dark /l/ of English is perceived as a /w/ by the speaker of Haitian Creole and when he attempts to imitate a teacher's pronunciation of a word such as *pencil* he may produce [pensuw]. The Haitian bright /l/ is quite acceptable to speakers of English in all of the positions where a dark /l/ is used (indeed, many Southerners and speakers of British English regularly use only a bright /l/). The problem is to bring the Haitian to realize that English dark /l/ is a kind of /l/ and to respond to it with his /l/. Writing the word on the board frequently helps clarify the problem.

2.2.5 Conflicts caused by /r/ and /h/

Haitian Creole, in all dialects, has an initial /r/ which is produced by very light velar friction and which seems to American ears to have a /w/-like quality, especially before back vowels. In Haitian /r/ occurs

² The principle of teaching manner of articulation contrasts first in the labial area also applies to teaching voiced/voiceless distinctions to speakers of languages such as Chinese. Given speakers who have only /f/, /s/ and /ʃ/ and not their voiced counterparts, it is much easier to first teach /v/ in opposition to /f/ and then transfer the newly acquired voicing contrast to /z/ and /ʒ/.

between vowels and between a consonant and a following vowel with the one restriction that the combination /ʒ/ + /r/ is not found. However, no /r/ may occur between a vowel and a following consonant or at the end of a word. This distribution of /r/ almost exactly parallels the /r/ distribution in American English *r*-less dialects and therefore, except for the need to teach the student an English /r/, there is no need to change the student's usage; even if the teacher's own speech has /r/ in these positions, he must steel himself to accept this relatively *r*-less usage—after all, a fair proportion of the U.S. is relatively *r*-less.

The problem of teaching English /r/ to Haitians is further complicated by the fact that the Haitian tends to perceive English initial /r/ as a /w/ so that he hears *ring* as /wiŋ/ but *crew* as /kruw/ and *dreary* as /driyriy/. When working with speakers of Haitian Creole who are adults or older children who already know how to read, as new words which begin with /r/ are introduced in oral/aural drills, they should be written on the blackboard and a moment taken to repractice the /r/-onset, with the friction of the /r/ slightly exaggerated by the teacher. (Good general directions for teaching English /r/ can be found in Lado and Fries (1954).)

For the majority of Haitian Creole dialects, initial /r/ has two historical sources: French initial /r/, as in /ri/ "street" (French *rue*), and the so-called "h-aspiré" of French, as in /romà/ 'lobster' (French *homard*). However, in some dialects in the south of Haiti, French "h-aspiré" is realized not as an /r/ but as an /h/, thus /homà/. This southern /h/ is the ONLY /h/ found in Haitian; it is completely acceptable to English speakers as a variety of /h/ and the speakers who have it represent no teaching problem in this regard. For the majority of Haitian Creole speakers, who have no /h/, this sound must be actively taught. While this is not easy to do, a strategy which has frequently worked for us is as follows: The contrast is first taught in intervocalic position with words such as *ahead* where a weakly stressed syllable is followed by an /h/ which commences a strongly stressed syllable. The student should be first made aware of the existence of a segment and the teacher should make the /h/ in his pronunciation model exaggeratedly breathy. This technique is usually successful and it simply remains to transfer the student's ability to, first, constructions with indefinite article plus noun with initial /h/, e.g.

I want a hat.
I want a house.

etc.

and then to these same words with the definite article

The hat is good
The house is big

etc.

and finally to other words

The hat is here.

and

Harry has a hat.

The pronunciation of /h/ before stressed syllables should be under good control before the student is led to attempt it before syllables with weak stress such as in *rehabilitation*.

If the student is unable to produce an intervocalic /h/ at first try, he can be brought to it by having him imitate panting.

2.3 Vowels

Haitian Creole has seven vowels:

i	u
e	o
ɛ	ɔ
a	

and two diphthongs /ey/ and /ay/.

Their values are approximately the continental ones; their closest English equivalents are: /i/ to /iy/ as in *machine*; /e/ to /ey/ as in *bait*; /ɛ/ to /ɛ/ as in *bet*; /a/ to /a/ as in *father*; /ɔ/ to /ɔh/ as in *bought*; /o/ to /ow/ as in *boat*; /u/ to /uw/ as in *pool*. All of the Haitian vowels are pure vowels and all of them are relatively short; they have none of the diphthongal off-glide or "wa-wa" quality which is so characteristic of English long vowels. (This fact of English is symbolized above by writing the English vowels with a following /y/, /w/ or /h/.³) The Haitian diphthongs /ey/ and /ay/ are quite close to the ones found in the English words *bay* (/ey/) and *buy* (/ay/); these English sounds represent no problem for the speaker of Haitian Creole.

These seven Haitian vowels may be compared with the system of General American English which recognizes from eleven to thirteen contrasts in its vocalic system. In English we must distinguish between a system of short vowels and a system of long vowels.

SHORT

i
ɛ
æ

(i)

u

ə

a

LONG

iy

ey

(æh)

uw

ow

ɔh

All dialects of General American English show the following contrasts:

a) short vowels: *pit* (/i/); *pet* (/ɛ/); *pat* (/æ/); *pot* (/a/); *putt* (/ə/); *put* (/u/); in addition, some dialects, but not others, have a contrast between /i/ and both /ə/ and /u/ as can be seen in the contrast *just* (adj.) /ə/: *just* (adv.) /i/: *gist* /i/.

b) long vowels: *peel* (/iy/); *pale* (/ey/); *pool* (/uw/); *pole* (/ow/); *Paul* (/ɔh/). In addition, some dialects, the dialect of New York City for example, have a contrast between long /æh/ and short /æ/ as in *have* /æ/: *halve* /æh/, or in the modal verb *can* when it is stressed /æ/: (*a tin*) *can* /æh/.⁴

There are two types of difficulty which the speaker of Haitian Creole is going to encounter with the English vowel system. One is concerned with differences in vowel quantity and the other is concerned with differences in vowel quality.

2.3.1 Teaching English vowel quantity.

Haitian Creole already has one essentially quantitative vowel distinction which provides a starting point for the teaching of English quantity. This is the distinction between /ey/ as in /soley/ "sun" and /ɛ/ as in

³ We are here following the Trager-Smith convention of symbolizing the centering off-glide, or non-syllabic schwa, found in words such as *bought* and *air* as /u/. For an exposition of this transcription convention, see Gleason (1961).

⁴ It should be emphasized that what we are dealing with here is the set of systematic contrasts found in the surface phonological system of English as they may be most usefully presented to a foreign learner of the language. The vowel system of English as a system is treated exhaustively in Chomsky and Halle (1968) which the reader should see for the deeper implications of the analysis presented here.

/bet/ "animal." The English distinction between *bait* and *bet* should be practiced first. Then the diphthongal extension of /iy/, /uw/ and /ow/ should be taught with words such as *beat*, *boot* and *boat* with the vowel length and the /y/ or /w/ quality of the glide greatly exaggerated. With /uw/ and /ow/ the teacher should also exaggerate the lip rounding of the off-glide /w/ and try to get his students to, in the beginning, produce exaggerated rounding here. In our teaching of these contrasts we have found the conventional minimal pair drills to be of only limited help and much better postponed until *after* the student has some articulatory control over the extension of the vowels by producing the off-glide diphthongs.

Work on the extension of /ɔɪ/ is better postponed until the student has mastered /iy/, /uw/ and /ow/; Haitian /ɔ/ is close enough in placement in the mouth to English /ɔɪ/ that this sound is not particularly difficult for Creole speakers and since there is no surface contrast in English between a long and short /ɔ/ there is no possibility of misunderstanding.

The contrast between /æ/ and /æɪ/ is not a very productive one in English and again work on it should be postponed until the rest of the vowel system has been mastered.

2.3.2 Teaching English vowel quality

The English vowels /e/, /a/ and /ɔ/ are quite close to their Haitian counterparts and need not be specially stressed. However, English /ɪ/ and /ʊ/ are both lower and laxer than their Haitian equivalents—Haitian /i/ and /u/ are more nearly like the vocalic parts of the English long vowels /iy/ and /uw/ (much the same problem that one finds with Spanish speakers). In teaching these sounds, one must teach the student to find a slightly lower placement of the tongue and to lax his mouth muscles as the sound is articulated. In doing this mouth diagrams with the Haitian and the English position of the tongue marked are a useful initial teaching aid but the real work must be done in frequently repeated imitation drills where the student mimics along with the teacher. These should start with the teacher articulating the higher, Haitian-like vowel sound and then opening his mouth slightly to get the position of the lower, laxer English short vowel, thus /iiiiiii/, /uuuuuuu/. The student should be repeating this sound sequence in chorus with the teacher, trying to get on the same harmonic beat with him. At the moment when the teacher makes the transition from the close to the more open vowel he can indicate this fact visually to his students by a hand signal, starting by holding his thumb and forefinger in the air parallel to the ground with the thumb rather close to the forefinger and then dropping the thumb slightly to indicate the onset of the laxer, more open articulation.

Variations of the same technique can be used to teach the other two short vowels which give the Haitian difficulty: /æ/ and /ə/. With /æ/ the point of departure is /e/ and the student again must be taught to achieve a more open articulation. With /ə/ the point of departure is /a/ and the student must be taught to close his mouth slightly for the English sound.

After the vowel segments have been mastered in isolation they can be transferred to words and to sentences which demonstrate the contrast desired, e.g. *Pet the dog* vs. *Pat the dog*.

2.3.3 /aw/ and /ɔy/

Although Haitian does not contain either of these diphthongs, they seem to pose no problem for the learner of English.

2.4 Syllable structure

In Haitian there are, essentially, only five permitted syllable shapes:

V; VC; CV; CVC; CCVC (with the second consonant of the cluster usually being either /l/ or /r/. English, on the other hand, has many more permitted syllable shapes. The difficulties which the Haitian will have with the beginnings of words, such as inserting an /ε/ before the /s/ of words such as *station* or *street* are relatively unimportant. However, his inability to have final consonant clusters means that such important grammatical contrasts as those between *walk*, *walks* and *walked* are both things which he does not readily perceive (see 2.5) and which he will not be able to reproduce unless they are actively and intensively taught to him.

2.5 Morphophonemic and morphological invariance

One major way in which Haitian Creole and English differ is that words in Haitian do not vary in phonetic shape within the same grammatical class. Haitian possesses no "long-short" vowel alternations as in English *crime-criminal*, *south-southern*; no vowel reduction with shifting stress as in English *photograph-photographer*; and no internal vowel change as a grammatical marker as in *keep-kept* or *ring-rang-rung*. Tense and plurality are indicated in Haitian by free morphemes which are connected very loosely, if at all, with the words with which they are associated. Thus a form such as *walked* or *ships* is doubly difficult for the speaker of Haitian Creole since it involves a non-permitted final syllable cluster which ends in a, to him, almost soundless consonant, and a grammatical function which is quite foreign to his native feeling of how a language is put together.

3.0 GRAMMAR

In the space available it is obviously impossible for us to give even a reasonable outline of the grammar of Haitian Creole. What we shall do is sketch in some of the major ways in which Haitian Creole differs from English.

3.1 Articles and Plurality

Haitian Creole has, from a surface view, an indefinite article and two definite articles—a singular and a plural. However, this apparent similarity with English breaks down rapidly. The Haitian indefinite article only corresponds to one function of the English indefinite—that is, when the meaning is "one." Thus, Haitian says

/mwɛn genyen un liv/	I have a book
but in the negative	
/mwɛn pa genyen liv/	"I don't have (a) book."
since	
	I have a book
means the same as	
	I have one book
but	
	I don't have a book
means the same as	
	I don't have any book.

Thus the English indefinite article corresponding to *any* must be actively taught to the speaker of Haitian Creole.

In the case of the singular definite article, the distribution poses no major problem but the Haitian syntax will pose a real problem—the Haitian article occurs *after* its noun and, if the noun has an associated relative clause, then the article comes after the relative clause, thus

/let la/ "the milk"
milk the

/let ke u t'asté dan market la/
milk which you past buy in market the

"the milk which you bought at the store."

Plurality is far more difficult. Haitian Creole nouns are not inflected for plurality. The only marker of plurality in Haitian is the plural definite article. Thus one can say

/zoranž yo paret šer/ "The oranges seem expensive"

but

/zoranž paret šer/ "Oranges seem expensive."

Marking nouns for plurality is very difficult for Haitians and must be drilled intensively.

3.2 Pronouns

Haitian Creole has the following pronouns:

	Singular	Plural
1.	/mwen/	/nu/
2.	/u/	/nu/
3.	/li/	/yo/

These are absolutely uninflected for use in a sentence:

/mwen wé yo/	"I see them"
/yo wé mwen/	"They see me"
/frè mwen/	"my brother"

In addition, there is no gender distinction in the third person singular pronoun—/li/ means *he*, *she* and *it*. (This should not be interpreted to mean that Haitians cannot detect sex differences—it simply means that they do not make any overt distinction in their pronominal usage.) By and large, the use of pronouns in Haitian and English is the same but the morphology of the English pronominal system is very difficult for the Haitian and must, again, be intensively drilled.

3.2.1 Possessives

The Haitian Creole rules for what is possessed are more nearly like those of English than they are those of French and should pose no problem. However, possession in Haitian is shown by what is technically termed a *status-construct*: that is, there is no MORPHOLOGICAL sign of possession; it is simply indicated by the juxtaposition of two nouns or a noun and a pronoun with the second noun or pronoun being the possessor of the first:

/frè papa mwen/	"my father's brother"
brother father I	

Where the Haitian has difficulty, then, is the position of the possessive and the learning of the appropriate morphological forms. As we pointed out above (2.5), the Haitian is almost totally unprepared by his language for any sort of morphological change and he becomes very confused by it.

3.3 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are one English structure which will not give the speaker of Haitian Creole any problem since (a) he has the equivalent of the English *who/whom* distinction (he uses /ki/ for the subject and /ke/ for the object) and (b) the relative pronoun can be deleted in Haitian under exactly the same conditions as govern its deletion in English. Even

the distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses is simple for the Haitian since the restrictive always requires the definite article but the non-restrictive does not.

3.4 Noun clauses

In Haitian Creole noun clauses cannot be used as the subjects of sentences. A sentence such as

That John drinks whiskey frightens me
must be expressed by the Haitian equivalent of

What frightens me is that John drinks whiskey.
Furthermore, infinitive verbal complements can be used only if the subject of the infinitive is the same as the subject of the main sentence. Thus

I want to go
is exactly paralleled in Haitian but
I want him to go
must be
I want that he go.

3.5 Verbs

Verbs in Haitian are absolutely invariant.

3.5.1. Tense and Aspect

Haitian makes, essentially, seven tense-aspect distinctions. They are indicated by particles which precede the verb. These particles are:

- /a/ which indicates distant futurity
- /pral/ which indicates near futurity
- /ap/ which indicates present continuous or near future
- unmarked which indicates either habitual actions; actions the time of which is obvious from context or co-occurring time adverbials; or perfective actions
- /fek/ which indicates the immediately completed past
- /te/ which indicates definite past and emphatic perfective
- /ta/ which indicates the conditional mood.

Of all these, the only one which closely parallels an English usage is /ap/, the indicator of an action in progress at the time of speaking. Since the English tense-aspect system divides reality rather differently, every other tense-aspect must be actively and intensively taught. This is especially true of the simple past tense, which, as we pointed out above, also presents phonological problems for the Haitian. Since the Haitian can leave a past tense unmarked if context makes it clear that it is past, we have here two factors which combine to make the correct production of the English form difficult for him.

3.5.2 Agreement.

Haitian has no agreement, either between subject and verb as in the third person singular present tense of English or between noun phrases across the copula as in

My brothers are doctors
which would be expressed in Haitian as
/frè mwen yo se dokteu/
brother I the (pl.) be doctor

"My brothers are doctors."

3.5.3 Prepositions

While Haitian possess a full complement of prepositions, these are not used with verbs of motion when the goal of the motion is the to be ex-

pected one. They are also not used across the copula if the location is a place name.

3.5.4 The passive

Haitian has a rule which says that the subject of the sentence must never occur in any position other than immediately before its verb. Since the formation of the passive would require that this rule be violated, Haitian has no passive.

Quasi-passive relationships such as

John broke the window.

The window broke

which pose problems of interpretation for speakers of many languages offer none to the Haitian since this is the normal way the same concepts are expressed in his language.

3.6 The copula

There are four major uses of the copula or linking verb *be* in English:

- 1) predications of the type *John is a doctor*
- 2) predications of the type *John is sick*
- 3) predications of the type *John is in New York*
- 4) as a verbal auxiliary in the formation of the continuous tenses and the passive voice.

In Haitian, while usage (1) is directly parallel to that of English, usages (2) and (3) are not. In both of these sentence types the copula usually has no overt realization. Thus, sentence (2) in Haitian is simply

/zǎn malad/

John sick

John (is) sick

and sentence (3) is

/zǎn nu yòk/

John New York

John (is in) New York

(Note that in this sentence no preposition is used either; see 3.5.3 above.)

As we stated above, the present continuous in Haitian is formed with /ap/ which here functions as a sort of copula, and, as there is no passive there is absolutely no parallel for the use of *be* in this structure.

The English copula *be* represents a myriad of problems for the Haitian: It has more overt agreement than any other verb in English and, especially in its contracted form, in the third person singular (*'s*) and in the plural (*'re*), presents the speaker of Haitian Creole with a difficult phonological hurdle.

A great deal of time should be devoted to establishing the USE of an overt copula with adjectives and in predications of location and in establishing control of subject-verb agreement, particularly where English uses contracted forms.

3.7 Questions

In Haitian, as we stated in 3.5.4, the subject-verb order is inviolable; there are *no* rules which require subjects to come after their verbs. Yes/no questions are formed either simply by a rising intonation or by prefixing to the sentence /eske/ 'is it the case that . . .' The English rule of subject-verb inversion for questions with *be* or with an auxiliary verb is particularly difficult since it violates a basic rule of Haitian Creole grammar. Question word questions are formed by having the question word at the beginning of the sentence. However, nothing corresponding to *do* is used—the Haitian question is of the form

What you want?

Intensive drill on the use of *do* and on its agreement with its following subject is necessary.

3.8 Negatives

In general, Haitian negatives are formed by putting /pa/ 'not' before the verb or before the tense/aspect particle. Again, nothing corresponding to English *do* occurs. Haitian has no negative articles, but it does have two negative indefinite pronouns: /pɛson/ 'no one' and /anyɛn/ 'nothing' which, if they are used, require /pa/ before the verb

/mwɛn pa we pɛson/ I not see no one	"I didn't see anyone"
/ʒan pa manʒe anyɛn/ John not eat nothing	"John didn't eat anything"

An additional learning problem is posed by the fact that the English negative in its reduced form *-n't* presents an impossible final cluster for the speaker of Haitian Creole which is compounded even worse when it has to co-occur with *does*, *is* or *was*, since /-znt/ (with a lightly syllabic /n/) is an utterly impossible final cluster. It is best, in the beginning, not to insist on /-znt/ but rather to teach the contraction as being /-zən(t)/ since this is, after all, the English alternant which is found in rapid speech.

4.0 Lexicon

As is normal in any Romance-based language, the everyday Haitian word is frequently the same as the learned word in English. This often means that the more elevated and Latinate the teacher is in his speech style the more apt his student is to understand him. Thus, *He is nearsighted* in Creole is /li miopik/, literally "he (is) myopic" and *The child is changeable (in mood)* is /pɛtit la ʃimerik/, literally "the child (is) chimeric."

A caveat which should be entered, of course, is that, again like standard French and Spanish, Haitian has some words which are only partly the same in meaning, as /mone/ 'coins (not money in general)' and deceptive cognates as /aktwɛl/ 'present (adv.)', /aktwɛlman/ 'at present,' not, as in English, *actual* = 'real'; these, again, must be looked out for and actively taught.

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THE INFLUENCE OF NONSTANDARD NEGRO DIALECT ON READING ACHIEVEMENT

Kenneth R. Johnson

Many disadvantaged black children speak a variety of English that linguists have labeled nonstandard Negro dialect. This variety of English—or dialect—differs from the variety of English taught in school and included in reading texts. Specifically, nonstandard Negro dialect differs from standard English in its phonological and grammatical systems. For example, disadvantaged black children who speak nonstandard Negro dialect lack some of the phonemes in particular linguistic environments that are found in standard English, and they include phonemes not found in standard English in certain linguistic environments. Also, the grammar of nonstandard Negro dialect differs from the grammar of standard English.

The existence of nonstandard Negro dialect has been established by educators and linguists. There is no doubt that this dialect exists . . . that there is a variety of English which is spoken by many black people, particularly disadvantaged black people. Although those who speak nonstandard Negro dialect can communicate effectively and function successfully in a cultural environment where nonstandard Negro dialect is the primary language system, they are handicapped when they come to school where another dialect of English (standard English) is the dialect for communication and learning.

The relationship between achievement—especially achievement in reading—and the inability to speak standard English has been clearly demonstrated many times. That is, children who speak a nonstandard dialect of English usually don't achieve in reading. Since many black children speak a nonstandard dialect of English, these children are disproportionately under-achievers in reading.

Of course, this is not the only reason disadvantaged black children do not achieve in reading . . . there are many other reasons that contribute to the explanation of a lack of achievement in reading by disadvantaged black children. Still, many educators and linguists believe that the lack of standard English speaking skills is the most important reason to explain the lack of achievement in reading by disadvantaged black children. This is particularly the case when the differences between nonstandard Negro dialect and standard English conflict to create difficulties during the conventional methods teachers employ in reading instruction.

One purpose of this paper is to illustrate the nature of the difficulty when disadvantaged black children are taught reading by conventional methods. This will be done by identifying some of the conflict points between nonstandard Negro dialect and standard English, and showing how these differences conflict during the teaching of reading by conventional methods. After these conflict points are pointed out, however, another purpose of this paper is to show that the conflict points—specifically, the phonological conflict points—need not be a problem if they are simply disregarded. Finally, a third purpose of this paper is to argue that disad-

Dr. Kenneth R. Johnson is Associate Professor of Education and Ethnic Studies, University of California, Berkeley, California. He is interested in the influence of nonstandard Negro dialect on achievement, and in instructional techniques for teaching Standard English to students who speak this dialect. Dr. Johnson has participated actively in professional conventions and published widely in scholarly journals.

vantaged black children who speak nonstandard Negro dialect be taught to read their dialect *first* (with only grammatical changes made in reading texts to match their nonstandard grammar), and later—after they have acquired the decoding process and attained some facility in standard English—they should be taught to read standard English.

Conflict points (or, interference points as they are sometimes called) occur between two languages—or dialects—when there is a difference either in sounds or grammatical patterns in particular contrasting linguistic environments. Another way of explaining what conflict points are is that one language system does something different (has another sound or grammatical feature, or has a sound or grammatical feature that does not contrast with a sound or grammatical feature in the other language system) from the other language system at corresponding places. This is the case between nonstandard Negro dialect and standard English: there are points where the two differ in sound or grammar when they are contrasted. These conflict points create difficulty during reading instruction, and when teachers attempt to illustrate the difference they more often confuse disadvantaged black children rather than clarify the difference. The reason for this will be explained.

First, however, it is necessary to illustrate some of the conflict points between nonstandard Negro dialect and standard English. These are not all the conflict points that exist between nonstandard Negro dialect and standard English, but they are outstanding examples, the kinds likely to cause the difficulty in reading instruction. After the conflict points are listed, it will be shown how the conventional approach to teaching reading—specifically, how the conventional way teachers handle the conflict points—confuses rather than helps nonstandard speaking disadvantaged black children (phonological conflict points are listed first, followed by grammatical conflict points).

Standard English has two sounds for the letters *th*—one of the sounds is voiced, the other is voiceless. The voiceless initial sound occurs in words like *thing*, *thigh* and *thought*. The voiceless final sound occurs in words like *with*, *both* and *mouth*. In nonstandard Negro dialect, the voiceless initial /*th*/ is the same as in standard English. The voiceless final /*th*/ in nonstandard Negro dialect, however, is changed to /*f*/. Thus, for *with*, *both* and *mouth*, nonstandard Negro dialect speakers say *wif*, *bof* and *mouf*. This substitution (or conflict point) operates systematically . . . that is, whenever standard English has a voiceless final /*th*/, nonstandard Negro dialect has /*f*/.

In standard English, the voiced initial /*th*/ occurs in words like *the*, *this* and *that*. The voiced final /*th*/ occurs in words like *breathe* and *bathe*. In nonstandard Negro dialect, the voiced initial /*th*/ is changed to /*d*/; the words *the*, *this* and *that* are pronounced *da*, *dis* and *dat*. The voiced final /*th*/ is changed to /*v*/ in nonstandard Negro dialect; the words *breathe* and *bathe* are pronounced *breave* and *bave*.

Thus, in nonstandard Negro dialect there are four different sounds for the letters *th*, depending on whether the letters are the voiced or voiceless sound, and whether they occur in the final or initial position, while standard English has only two sounds for the letters *th*.

In nonstandard Negro dialect, certain consonant sounds in the final position tend to be reduced. These consonant sounds are /*b*/, /*d*/, /*g*/. *h* /*p*/, /*t*/ and /*k*/.

A number of problems are created for the nonstandard speaker learning to read standard English. For example, if certain consonant sounds are reduced in the final position, more homonyms are created in non-

standard Negro dialect. Words like *hard* and *heart*, *car* and *card*, *cold* and *coat* become homonyms and this is likely to cause comprehension difficulties in reading (i.e. The boy had a *cold/coat*). The obvious implication for reading instruction is that *more time should be spent on helping non-standard speakers develop the ability to use context clues rather than phonics clues for comprehension* (instead, teachers usually spend a great deal of time trying to get these children to hear the difference between *cold* and *coat*).

Another problem caused by the reduction of consonant sounds at the ends of words occur when certain words are pluralized. For example, the words *test*, *fist*, *desk* and *mask* are pronounced in nonstandard Negro dialect as *tes*, *fis*, *des* and *mas*. The consonants /t/ and /k/ are two of the consonants reduced in the final position in nonstandard Negro dialect. Reducing the final /t/ and /k/ in the words cited puts /s/ in the final position. In English, words ending in /s/ add another syllable when they are pluralized. For example, the plurals of *kiss*, *dress*, *boss* and *pass* are *kisses*, *dresses*, *bosses* and *passes*. In other words, the ending to indicate the plural in these words is /iz/. In nonstandard Negro dialect, *tes*, *fis*, *des* and *mas* (for *test*, *fist*, *desk* and *mask*) end with the consonant /s/, so speakers of nonstandard Negro dialect follow the regular pluralization rule of English for words ending in /s/. Thus, the plurals of *test*, *fist*, *desk* and *mask* in nonstandard Negro dialect are: *tessiz*, *fissiz*, *dessiz* and *massiz*.

A third problem caused by consonant reduction is the past tense morpheme represented by the letters *ed* (which, in some words, is /t/, one of the consonants reduced in nonstandard Negro dialect). Thus, many non-standard speakers say, "He talk to him yesterday." If they read this sentence, the letters *ed* signal past tense even if they don't pronounce it.

The sound represented by the letter *r* is reduced in nonstandard Negro dialect creating a phenomenon that William Labov, a linguist at University of Pennsylvania labels "r-lessness." A similar phenomenon that Labov labels "l-lessness" is created by the reduction of the sound represented by the letter *l*. Both r-lessness and l-lessness occur in medial and final positions. Thus, words like *guard*, *court*, *help*, *cold* that contain /r/ or /l/ in the medial position are pronounced as if these sounds aren't there; words like *door*, *car*, *school*, *bowl* that contain /r/ or /l/ in the final position are pronounced without these sounds.

A problem caused by r-lessness in the final position is that more homonyms are produced in nonstandard Negro dialect. For example, *door* and *dough*, *more* and *mow*, *store* and *stow*. This may interfere with reading comprehension (in a similar way that consonant reduction at the end of words interferes with comprehension by creating more homonyms as explained, above) and suggests that black children be given extra help on developing skills to determine meaning from context clues.

In nonstandard Negro dialect, there is no distinction between /i/ and /e/ before /n/ and /m/. The sounds /i/ and /e/ are both pronounced /i/ before nasals. Thus, *pin* and *pen*, *meant* and *mint*, are given the same pronunciation.

It can be seen from these examples of conflict points between non-standard Negro dialect and standard English that there are many points where difficulties are likely to occur when children who speak this dialect attempt to learn to read. The way teachers handle these difficulties compounds, rather than clarifies, the difficulties. The reason for this situation is the fact that disadvantaged black children have different audio-disrimination skills from those expected by the teachers. In fact, the students fail to hear some of the sounds of standard English; thus, they

fail to pronounce these sounds. Teachers, however, view their pronouncing deviations from standard English as careless, sloppy speech full of errors. Stated another way, disadvantaged black children cannot hear some standard English phonemes and they cannot hear the difference between their nonstandard pronunciation and standard pronunciation. They cannot auditorily discriminate between conflict points. The younger the children, the more this is the case. For example, black children have difficulty distinguishing which pronunciation is given twice in the following series of words: *wif, wif, with; dis, this, dis; share, share, show*. This simple exercise illustrates the difficulty these children have in hearing certain standard English sounds.

The way teachers usually handle this difficulty is to insist that there is a difference—when the children hear no difference. Thus, to tell these children that they are saying *pin* instead of *pen* is to confuse them, since they don't detect the difference!

Or, take the case of consonant reduction at the end of words: black children pronounce *test* and *desk* as *tes* and *des*, and the plurals of these words are *tessiz* and *dessiz*. When a black child says or reads, "The *tessiz* were put on *dessiz*" the usual response of the teacher is to correct the child by pointing out the pronunciation of the words in question is *tests* and *desks*. Now, if the child does not hear the final consonant sounds (/t/ and /k/) in the singular forms of these words, the child also fails to hear /ts/ and /ks/ at the end of the words. Thus, when the teacher says, "Don't say *tessiz* and *dessiz*, say *tests* and *desks*" the child hears, "Don't say *tessiz* and *dessiz* say *tes* and *des*" so the child is left with the impression that the teacher means for him to use the singular form. Yet, in the sample sentence (The *tests* were put on the *desks*) the letter *s* signals the plural (assuming that the child reads the sentence) and his pronunciation—*tessiz* and *dessiz*—whether reading or speaking the sentence conveys the correct message. For the teacher to insist that he use the singular form (that is, what he heard as the singular form in her correction) is to confuse the child.

Thus, the different phonological system of nonstandard Negro dialect equips black children with different auditory skills. If teachers do not recognize this, and tend to treat these children as if, through carelessness, they do not hear standard English sounds, they confuse the children.

What should teachers do, how should they handle these conflict points? There are two alternatives. One is to delay reading instruction and work on teaching these children standard English before teaching them to read standard English. The delay in teaching them to read, however, would have to be long because it is unlikely that young disadvantaged black children can learn to speak standard English. What reason can one give them to convince them they need to know it? Where will it be reinforced? Do they need to know it to function in their culture? Also, learning another dialect of a language is, in some ways, more difficult than learning another language. The difficulty, then, is that the delay in teaching these children to read would last until they learn standard English and this is not likely to occur until the children recognize a need to learn standard English—this probably does not occur until adolescence. That is, it would be difficult to convince very young children of the need to learn standard English, particularly if they are attending a school where the majority of children speak nonstandard Negro dialect. If, however, black children are attending a school in which many children speak standard English, they are participating and functioning in an environment where standard English is operable. Under these circumstances, black children may pick up some of the features of standard English. In addition, young children often

learn another language just for the joy of learning a different language. This may also be true of learning another variety—or dialect—of a language. That is, black children may learn some of the features of standard English just because they are new. That is likely to occur only when they have an opportunity to participate in social situations where standard English is the operable linguistic system. It has been pointed out many times that young children easily learn another language, and this phenomenon of language learning has been equated with learning another dialect of a language the learners already speak. The case, however, is not the same: in many ways, learning another dialect of a language is more difficult than learning another language because the differences (conflict points) between two dialects of a language are so subtle as to hide the differences—especially to young children. The important point in young black children learning standard English is that they must be able to use it in meaningful situations. This can only occur when black children have an opportunity to associate with standard English speakers in meaningful situations. If young black children must remain in a social environment where only nonstandard Negro dialect is operable, then it is unlikely that they will learn standard English.

It has been pointed out that if they don't learn standard English, they are likely to have difficulty in learning to read. The problem, then, is how to teach reading to black children who speak nonstandard Negro dialect? There is another alternative, however. This other alternative is to *ignore the phonological conflict points* between nonstandard Negro dialect and standard English, and to teach the children to read in their dialect (reading texts would retain standard spelling, but they would use the grammar of nonstandard Negro dialect). What this means is that black children would be permitted to impose their phonological system onto standard spelling. Thus, the letters *th* occurring at the end of a word would be given the pronunciation of nonstandard Negro dialect: *with* would become *wif*; *breathe* would become *breave*. Or, in some cases letters would be silent (consonants at the end of words, the letters *r* and *l* in some cases). In other words, standard spelling would receive nonstandard pronunciation.

Actually, this is not as radical a proposal as it seems. Standard pronunciation does not match standard spelling. There are countless examples of words not being spelled the way it could logically be expected on the basis of pronunciation and the English graphemic system (*phone*, *enough*, *ration*, etc.) and English spelling is full of silent letters (*receive*, *caught*, *meant*, etc.). Thus, black children are being asked to do no more than what all children who learn to read English are doing, anyway.

The grammar of reading texts for disadvantaged black children should be the grammar of nonstandard Negro dialect, because it is grammar, not pronunciation, which carries meaning. A black child who says, "mouf" means "mouth" but a black child who says, "My mouf hurtin'" means something that can't be expressed grammatically in standard English, or a black child who says, "She been talk to him" again means something that can't be grammatically expressed in standard English.

Nonstandard Negro dialect differs from—or conflicts with—standard English at specific points, and these points interfere with reading comprehension. In addition, black children, when they read standard English, are encountering a strange grammar system and this causes them to read haltingly and with difficulty. To illustrate how the grammar of nonstandard Negro dialect differs from the grammar of standard English, a few conflict points between the two varieties of English will be pointed out.

In nonstandard Negro dialect, it is unnecessary to put the plural morpheme onto a word if another word in the sentence indicates that the

word is plural. For example, in the sentence, "The three boys are running down the street" the word *three* marks the plural; thus, in nonstandard Negro dialect the sentence is, "the three boy running down the street" (the copula verb *are* is also omitted in present progressive tense of the verb *to be* in nonstandard Negro dialect). Now, in reading the sentence, black children may not pronounce the plural ending of *boys*. In other words, their dialect pattern interferes. A teacher, hearing a black child read the sentence without pronouncing the plural ending, will usually correct the child for a *reading* error when what is really going on is interference, and it should be pointed out to the child the difference between nonstandard and standard English when marking plurals. This observation helps the child contrast his language system with standard English, and he is more likely to learn the standard pattern, "three boys" if he is aware of the conflict, rather than treating his pattern as a reading error.

In nonstandard Negro dialect, the possessive morpheme is not necessary. Thus, the sentence, "That man's hat is too big" would be, "That man hat too big." Again, when black children fail to pronounce the possessive morpheme teachers usually treat this as a reading error, rather than an interference point between the two language systems.

The most important problem of grammatical interference is not the failure of black children to pronounce certain inflectional endings of standard English (the past tense *ed*; the third person singular, present tense morpheme; the possessive morpheme; the plural morpheme), but the difference in *meaning* that the conflicting grammatical features of their dialect carry. Because nonstandard Negro grammar differs in both structure and meanings, it is recommended here that texts be written in their dialect.

Some examples of grammatical features in nonstandard Negro dialect which mean something different from standard English, and which teachers generally don't understand are: forming the past tense of regular verbs; conjugating irregular verbs; conjugating the verb *to be*.

The past tense of regular verbs in standard English is formed by adding the inflectional ending, or past tense morpheme, to the verb: *play, played; talk, talked*. Because black children reduce the consonant sounds /d/ and /t/ at the end of words, they often say or read *play* for *played*, and *talk* for *talked*. In their dialect, this means the same as the standard English inflected verb—that is, action was completed in the past. Often, when a black child fails to pronounce the inflectional ending during reading, teachers correct the child by pointing out to him that the word means action happened in the past. Now, the child knows this, because he sees the letters, *ed* and this signals past tense to him. By telling the child in a correcting manner something he already knows is likely to cause some confusion. Usually, the teacher demands that the child pronounce the "ed" which results in the overcorrection of pronouncing *talked* as *talk-ted*. The teacher usually forgets to let the child in on the secret that the "ed" is really a "t" at the end of *talked*. It was pointed out that when black children say *play* for *played* and *talk* for *talked*, it means the same as it does in standard English. But nonstandard Negro dialect can indicate grammatically that the action not only happened in the past, but that it happened in the *distant* past. This is done by adding the auxiliary verb *been*. For example, "I talk to the man" means that the speaker talked to the man sometime in the past; but, "I been talked to the man" means that the speaker talked to the man in the distant past. Further, nonstandard Negro dialect can grammatically indicate that the action happened so long ago that it is ridiculous even to mention or question the action. This is achieved by adding *done*: "I been done talked to the man." Standard English cannot

make these distinctions grammatically, and here is one point where nonstandard Negro dialect is more complicated (often, nonstandard Negro dialect is erroneously thought to be a "simplified" version of English). If reading texts were written in nonstandard Negro dialect, the reading comprehension of black children could be increased.

Another grammatical feature which differs from standard English is the irregular verb pattern in nonstandard Negro dialect. In standard English, the pattern for irregular verbs is: *do, did, have done; take, took, have taken*. In nonstandard Negro dialect, the pattern for irregular verbs is: *do, done, have did; take, taken, have took*. The past tense form and the past participle form are reversed from standard English. When a black child says, "The boys taken the ball" he is using the past tense of the verb *take*. The teacher, however, hearing *taken* without *have* assumes that the child is just being sloppy or careless in omitting *have*; thus, the teacher "corrects" the child by telling him the sentence should be, "The boys *have taken* the ball." Notice that the teacher has switched tense on the child—he used his past tense, but the teacher "corrects" him into the standard present perfect tense. What this means to the child is that the standard past tense of the verb *take* is formed by saying *have taken*! Now, if the teacher knows the grammatical system of nonstandard Negro dialect, the standard equivalent of "The boys taken the ball" can be given to the child: "The boys took the ball." To "correct" the child into a different tense is to create confusion, and it prevents the black child from learning the appropriate translation.

The verb *to be* in nonstandard Negro dialect is different from standard English, and includes forms which have special meanings that aren't duplicated in standard English. For example, the present progressive tense sentence, "The teacher is talking" in nonstandard Negro dialect is, "The teacher talking." The copula is omitted if the action—the talking—is currently happening. That is, the "talking" is going on now. But nonstandard Negro dialect can indicate that the action is a regular or habitual action by adding the verb *be*: "The teacher be talking." Standard English can't make this grammatical distinction. Again, "correction" can create confusion rather than clarification. If a teacher tells a black child to say: "The teacher is talking" for his "The teacher be talking" the child is not being taught the appropriate translation.

These examples of the difference between the grammars of nonstandard Negro dialect and standard English were given to illustrate how a difference in meaning exists because of the grammatical differences. There are many such examples when contrasting nonstandard Negro dialect and standard English.

Because of these differences, it is recommended that beginning texts for black children who speak nonstandard Negro dialect be written in their dialect. Again, it is unnecessary to alter spelling for reasons pointed out, above. Dialect texts would undoubtedly be more meaningful to black children. After all, these children would be *reading* the variety of English they are *speaking*. Not only should this increase comprehension, but black children would be able to read a lot more smoothly instead of the halting way many of them now read because they are mentally juggling two linguistic systems when they read. It seems as if educators could not argue against the logic of this . . . but they do. The arguments, however, are not logical but emotional. The arguments usually point out that to teach black children to read their dialect is to deprive them of the equal quality education white children receive. Some educators base their argument on the erroneous view that nonstandard Negro dialect is really not a language at all, or that it is an incomplete language (something that is linguistically impossible). Others point out that these children would be handicapped

because they would only know how to read their dialect. What is being suggested here, however, is that black children begin to read in their dialect, and after they have learned to read—that is when they know the decoding process—they can then make a transition to reading standard English texts.

Actually, the proposal to teach black children to read in their dialect is not so radical. In other parts of the world (Sweden and Haiti are two examples) children are taught to read in their local dialects before they read the national dialect. The opposition in this country to such a proposal (and the opposition is fierce) is really based on a kind of ethnocentrism, and a disregard—even a rejection—of black culture. That is, many feel that standard English is the only variety of English, that should appear in print since it is the “best.” The corollary of this is that nonstandard Negro dialect is inferior, sloppy speech that does not deserve the dignity and legitimacy of appearing in print. In case one doubts that this is the case, attend a conference of educators where the question of teaching black children to read in their dialect is discussed.

Ironically, black teachers are the greatest objectors to teaching black children to read in their dialect. These black teachers reject their own cultural identity more strenuously than many whites reject “blackness.” One can understand black teachers’ objections if one understands the way our society has taught black people to hate themselves, and how black people infer self-hate from the way a racist society has treated them.

A few attempts are being made to try this approach in teaching black children to read. The most notable attempt is being conducted at the Education Study Center in Washington, D.C. William A. Stewart and Joan C. Baratz have produced a series of dialect readers and the initial results after using these readers are dramatically promising (not only are these readers written in nonstandard Negro dialect, but they are also culturally accurate, that is, the stories are about real black folks, not black white folks).

Unfortunately, no one can deny that black children are not learning to read. There is no need for documentation, since it is well known that this is one of the monumental problems of American education. All other methods and materials have been tried without massive success (there has been limited success with small populations using a variety of approaches and materials). Yet, when the method proposed here is asking for a chance to prove its effectiveness, educators start screaming about the ineffectiveness of the approach to teach black children to read in their dialect *before the approach has even been tested*. Such prejudice does not belong in American education.

SOME OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING BLACK CHILDRENS’ CONVERSATIONS

Richard L. Light

Studies over the past decade have convincingly demonstrated the value of studying language within social and situational contexts. By relating

Dr. Richard L. Light is Assistant Professor in the English as a Second Language Program at State University of New York at Albany. He is director of a teacher training project in bilingual education supported by the United States Office of Education and is currently studying the language of lower socioeconomic group children in the Albany area under a SUNY Research Foundation grant.

linguistic and extra-linguistic phenomena, such studies have discovered regularity in speech fluctuations that were previously either ignored or dismissed as free variation. The purpose of this study is to quantify variations in four speech features in the conversations of five black children, and to determine how these might correlate with extra-linguistic factors in fourteen interview situations.

The five black children in the fourteen conversations considered here are from a lower socioeconomic group in Washington, D. C. The speech of these children, ages 6-11, was recorded and transcribed in various settings involving adults of different races as interviewers.¹ The four nonstandard linguistic features used by the children and examined in the fourteen interviews with them are multiple negation, and absence of the Z suffixes marking noun plural, possession, and the third person singular form of the verb.² Extra-linguistic variables considered are presence or absence of an adult participant-interviewer, sex and race of the adults, and age of the children. For each linguistic feature, three tables are provided. One shows distribution of the feature throughout the conversations and indicates the children and interviewers involved in each; one gives a summary of the features used by each child in all conversations, and one shows features used correlated with characteristics of adult interviewers in the conversations. A summary indicates percentages of the four nonstandard features occurring in the speech of each child in all conversations, and shows percentages of the features used correlated with characteristics of the adult interviewers. Finally, some notes of interest to the classroom teacher are included.

The Plural Suffix

Table 1 gives an outline of all nouns with the potential of being marked with the plural suffix which occur in the corpus.³ "Potential of being marked" here means that the marking is grammatically possible. The unmarked occurrences are limited to 22, or 7% of a potential of 303. And of this unmarked 7% only 1% is "potentially non-redundant," and thus possibly ambiguous. That is, if the noun were marked in the case of this 1% (column IX on Table 1) it would not be redundant. Redundant here means that there is some indication of number other than the plural suffix in a noun phrase, e.g., *five pencils, some books*, etc. Thus in all conversa-

¹ The source of the data for this study (excerpted from the writer's unpublished doctoral dissertation, Georgetown University, 1969, © 1970) is *Conversations in a Negro American Dialect*, recorded and transcribed by Bengt Loman (Washington, D. C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1967).

² The use of such socially significant nonstandard features is not, of course, limited to black children, any more than standard features are limited to whites. For some characteristics of white nonstandard speech see William Labov, *A Study of the Nonstandard English of Negro and Puerto Rican Speakers in New York City*, Cooperative Research Project No. 3288, 2 Vols. (New York: Columbia University, 1968), I, *passim*, but especially pp. 41, 146, 275-278.

³ Throughout the paper, the following reference are made to adult participants with the children in the conversations:

"Negro male" refers to either of two brothers of approximately the same age (32 and 39) in two conversations with the children

"Negro female" refers to the 39 year old mother of one of the children, and/or to a younger black research assistant.

"White male" refers to Bengt Loman, the principal investigator.

"White female" refers to a young research assistant.

"Negro and white females" refers to the two research assistants.

"No adult interviewer" indicates that there were no adult participants in the conversations.

A notation such as (121 MJ) indicates that the speech feature so marked occurred on page 121 in the Loman text and was used by MJ. Ages and sex of the five children are indicated in Table 2.

TABLE 1
MARKED AND UNMARKED NOUN PLURALS AND
CHARACTERISTICS OF INTERVIEWERS

adult participants		conver- sation number	child	nouns marked for plural			unmarked		unmarked totals	total plural potential	percentages of potential marked
race	sex			redundant	non- redundant	marked totals	potentially redundant	potentially non- redundant			
I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
Negro	F	1	GJ	4	2	6	5	1	6	12	50
			MJ	2	1	3	2	Ø	2	5	60
			AP	6	Ø	6	Ø	Ø	Ø	6	100
White	M	3	JD	8	4	12	Ø	1	1	13	92
			JD	4	16	20	Ø	Ø	Ø	20	100
			MJ	3	15	18	Ø	Ø	Ø	18	100
No adult interviewer		5	JD	1	3	4	1	Ø	1	5	80
			BS	3	1	4	5	Ø	5	9	45
			AP	6	1	7	Ø	Ø	Ø	7	100
White	F	4	GJ	no potential plurals			no potential plurals				
			JD	11	5	16	Ø	2	2	18	89
			MJ	9	3	12	Ø	Ø	Ø	12	100
Negro & White	F	6	MJ	4	15	19	Ø	Ø	Ø	19	100
			JD	10	13	23	Ø	Ø	Ø	23	100
			GJ	Ø	28	28	1	Ø	1	29	97
Negro	M	9	MJ	2	7	9	Ø	Ø	Ø	9	100
			GJ	7	9	16	1	Ø	1	17	94
			MJ	11	4	15	1	Ø	1	16	94
White	F	12	GJ	17	19	36	1	1	2	38	95
			JD	5	7	12	Ø	Ø	Ø	12	100
			AP	11	4	15	Ø	Ø	Ø	15	100
Totals:				124	157	281	17	5	22	303	
Percentages of Column XI:				41%	52%	93%	6%	1%	7%	100%	93%

tions taken together the vast majority (93%) of the nouns with potential for plural marking were so marked, the majority (77%) of unmarked nouns were in phrases which would have made the marking redundant, and only small minority (1%) were in fact ambiguous.

Although the plural marker was present in 93% of the cases where it was potentially present in the conversations as a whole, there were two conversations in which this percentage was considerably lower.

In conversation #1, the only one which involved two boys and a female Negro interviewer, only 55% of the potential was marked. The children in this conversation appeared to be relaxed, and their speech included the most spontaneous and aggressive exchanges of any of the interviews. It might be suggested that in the informal atmosphere of this conversation, the only one in which two boys are the only peers present, the children employed forms more nearly typical of the speech they normally use with their peers alone.

In the other conversation in which significant percentages of potential plurals were not marked (conversation #5) at least two factors may be tentatively considered as likely influences. First, there was no adult immediately present; none participated in the conversation. Second, one of the children was only six years old, at least four years younger than any of the other children in the conversations. Less than half of the potential plurals in this six-year-old's speech were marked, a much lower percentage than for any of the other children.

It can be suggested then that the factors of both age and situation affect the use of plural markers by the children in these conversations.

Table 2 shows the percentage of marked plurals used by each child, and Table 3 shows the percentage used with sex and race of the interviewers as the variable.

TABLE 2
PERCENTAGES OF PLURALS MARKED, BY CHILD

Child	BS	GJ	MJ	JD	AP
Age	6	10	10	11	10
Sex	F	M	M	F	F
Potential Plurals	9	96	79	91	28
Percentage Marked	45	89	92	93	100

TABLE 3
PERCENTAGES OF PLURALS MARKED, BY INTERVIEWERS

Interviewers Present	None	Negro female	Negro and White females	White female	Negro male	White male
Potential Plurals	14	88	19	118	26	38
Percentage Marked	62	83	96	97	97	100

Although there appear to be significant differences in the marking of plurals depending both upon age and upon interview situation, in some cases the correlations must be considered tentative because of the small number of tokens. In the speech of BS for example, there were only nine

potential plurals, four of which were marked and five unmarked. However, JD marked only 80% of the potential plurals in this situation, and there does appear to be enough indication of a negative correlation between percentage of plurals marked and the absence of an interviewer to warrant further investigation.

Third Person Singular

Potential for this marker was considered only for main verbs in affirmative statements, e.g., *John like it* was counted as a potential for third singular marker, but *do John like it* was not.

There were a total of sixty-eight potential occurrences of the third person singular marker; only sixteen percent of them were marked. The breakdown of occurrences is shown in Table 4. Table 5 shows that the percentage of third person singular marker usage by child varied between 25 and 15 percent, except for the youngest child who did not mark any

TABLE 4
THIRD PERSON SINGULAR

Adult interviewers		conversation number	child	marked	unmarked
race	sex				
Negro	F	1	GJ	Ø	1
			MJ	Ø	Ø
		3	AP	Ø	1
			JD	1	Ø
White	M	2	JD	1	Ø
			MJ	Ø	2
no adult interviewer		5	JD	Ø	Ø
			BS	Ø	11
White	F	4	AP	Ø	2
			GJ	Ø	Ø
			JD	Ø	5
			MJ	Ø	Ø
Negro and White	F	6	MJ	3	5
Negro	F	7	JD	Ø	1
		8	GJ	2	2
Negro	M	9	MJ	Ø	3
		10	GJ	1	5
White	F	11	MJ	1	7
		12	GJ	Ø	4
		13	JD	Ø	5
		14	AP	2	3
Totals:				11	57
Percentages:				16%	84%

verbs for third singular. There was also considerable variation in percentages marked depending upon the adult interviewer present as indicated on Table 6. However, because of the small potential for marking and other factors, this can be taken only as a suggestion of the possible effect of different interview situations. For example, in the column with "none" indicated for interviewer, the eleven potentials for marking the verb for third singular in this situation were all in the speech of the youngest child; this is the only conversation in which she takes part. It is therefore not possible to isolate either age of the child or race and sex characteristics of the interviewer alone as the variable accounting for the complete lack of the third person singular suffix in the child's speech.

TABLE 5
PERCENTAGES OF THIRD PERSON SINGULAR
MARKED, BY CHILD

Child	AP	GJ	MJ	JD	BS
Age	10	10	10	11	6
Sex	F	M	M	F	F
Potential	8	15	21	13	11
Percentage Marked	25	20	19	15	Ø

TABLE 6
PERCENTAGES OF THIRD PERSON SINGULAR
MARKED, BY INTERVIEWER

Interviewers Present	None	White female	Negro male	White male	Negro female	Negro and White female
Potential	11	29	9	3	8	8
Percentage Marked	Ø	10	11	33	38	38

The marking of the third singular was not limited to any small set of verbs; nine of the eleven verbs so marked were different. And except for the fact that all children marked a small percentage of the third singular potential (from Ø% to 25% depending upon the child) no clear pattern of such marking emerged. One child even switched from unmarked to marked third singular in the same sentence:

we wen' on na thing da' go down an' den goes right back aroun'
(121 MJ)

Possessives

Table 7 outlines the use of possessive suffixes in the conversations.

TABLE 7
POSSESSIVES

Adult participants race	sex	conv. number	child	possessive suffix	
				present	not present
Negro	F	1	GJ	2	Ø
			MJ	Ø	3
		3	AP	Ø	Ø
			JD	Ø	Ø
White	M	2	JD	2	Ø
			MJ	1	Ø
No adult interviewer		5	JD	Ø	Ø
			BS	3	1
White	F	4	AP	Ø	Ø
			GJ	Ø	Ø
			JD	7	Ø
			MJ	Ø	Ø
Negro and White	F	6	MJ	Ø	Ø
Negro	F	7	JD	3	Ø
		8	GJ	Ø	Ø
Negro	M	9	MJ	Ø	1
		10	GJ	4	Ø
White	F	11	MJ	Ø	2
		12	GJ	1	1
		13	JD	Ø	1
		14	AP	Ø	Ø
Totals:				23	9
Percentage with possessive suffix present				72%	

Table 8 shows a breakdown of the use of the possessive suffix by child and Table 9 by characteristics of adult interviewers. The possessive suffix was regularly used by all children except MJ to mark nouns for possession. MJ marked possession with the suffix only once in seven potential occurrences. He regularly used sentences such as

you got Harry Lee tennis ba'

(5 MJ)

Three other children, including the youngest, regularly used the possessive suffix; there was one child with no potential for its use in the corpus. The only correlation here then is absence of the suffix with the speech of a single child.

TABLE 8
POSSESSIVE SUFFIX, BY CHILD

Child	JD	GJ	BS	MJ	AP
Age	11	10	6	10	10
Sex	F	M	F	M	F
Potential	13	8	4	7	no potential
Marked	12	7	3	1	—
Percentage Marked	92	88	75	14	—

TABLE 9
POSSESSIVE SUFFIX, BY INTERVIEWER

Interviewers	White male	Negro male	none	White female	Negro female	Negro and White female
Potential	3	5	4	12	8	no potential
Marked	3	4	3	8	5	—
Percentage Marked	100	80	75	67	63	—

Multiple Negation

Negative sentences in the corpus were examined for instances of multiple negation, that is, the realization of a negative element both in an auxiliary verb and in an indefinite pronoun (e.g., *nobody*, *nothing*, etc.), an adverb (*never*, *hardly*, etc.), or an indefinite determiner (*a*, *any*, etc.). Multiple negation involves up to three negative elements in a single sentence in the corpus as in:

ain' nobody in ne house gave me not'n' (124 MJ)

Following the procedure used by Shuy,⁴ negatives co-occurring with indefinites were tabulated. The "potential occurrences" of multiple negation (e.g., *dey ain't show a movie* 155 AP) as well as "actual" or "realized" occurrences (*you ain' got no notebook* 2 GJ) were totaled and entered in column V on Table 10. The actual occurrences of multiple negation were entered in column VI. The percentages of "actual" multiple negatives in relation to "potential" multiple negatives was then computed and entered in column VII. There were a total of 53 realizations of multiple negation in a potential of 64 occurrences. Thus 83% of the potential for multiple negation was realized in the corpus.

⁴ Roger Shuy, Walter Wolfram, and William Riley, *Linguistic Correlates of Social Stratification in Detroit Speech*, Cooperative Research Project, No. 6-1347 (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1967), Part III, p. 9.

TABLE 10
MULTIPLE NEGATION

Adult interviewers race	sex	conv. number	child	potential occurrence	realized	percentage realized
I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Negro	F	1	GJ	10	6	60
			MJ	2	1	50
		3	AP	no potential		—
			JD	1	1	100
White	M	2	JD	3	1	33
			MJ	3	3	100
No adult interviewer		5	JD	1	1	100
			ES	4	4	100
White	F	4	GJ	no potential		—
			AP	2	2	100
			JD	1	1	100
			MJ	1	1	100
Negro and White	F	6	MJ	no potential		—
Negro	F	7	JD	9	9	100
		8	GJ	2	1	50
Negro	M	9	MJ	4	4	100
		10	GJ	1	1	100
White	F	11	MJ	8	8	100
		12	GJ	4	3	75
		13	JD	3	3	100
		14	AP	5	3	60
Totals:				64	53	
Percentage Realized:						83%

Percentage Realized:

Tables 11 and 12 give a breakdown of the number of potential occurrences of multiple negation and percentages realized, by child and by situation. The highest percentage of multiple negation was in the speech of the youngest child. However, because of the small number of potential occurrences (only four), this can only be taken as a tentative indication of a positive correlation between younger age and multiple negation. The highest percentages of multiple negation occurred with the Negro male as interviewer and in the one conversation with no interviewer present. Somewhat surprisingly the next highest percentage occurred with a white, not a black, female as interviewer. A partial explanation for this might be that she was very well known by the children and they appeared to be as relaxed in her presence as with a black interviewer. This is illustrated when at one point a child mistakenly addresses her using the name of a female Negro interviewer. (121 MJ). This relaxed atmosphere was not apparent in conversations involving the white male interviewer; conversations in which he was present show the lowest percentage of multiple negation correlated with interviewer characteristics.

TABLE 11
MULTIPLE NEGATION, BY CHILD

Child	BS	MJ	JD	AP	GJ
Age	6	10	11	10	10
Sex	F	M	F	F	M
Potential	4	18	18	7	17
Percentage Realized	100	94	88	71	64

TABLE 12
MULTIPLE NEGATION, BY INTERVIEWERS

Interviewers Present	None	Negro male	White female	Negro female	White male	Negro and White females
Potential	5	5	24	24	6	no potential
Percentage Realized	100	100	87	75	66	—

Summary

Tables 13 and 14 summarize the percentages of all nonstandard features considered. Table 13 summarizes them according to the child who used them and Table 14 by the presence or absence of adult interviewers and by interviewer characteristics.

For the four features considered, the absence of an adult interviewer participating in the conversations (column I, Table 14) correlated with a higher average percentage of non-standard realizations. For two of the four features (third singular marker and multiple negation), such non-standard realization was one hundred percent. However, the youngest child involved in the conversations was present in this one conversation involving no adult participation, and the higher percentages of non-standard features in her speech were undoubtedly influenced by her age as well as by the absence of an adult participant.

TABLE 13
PERCENTAGES OF NON-STANDARD FEATURES, BY CHILD

Child	BS	MJ	AP	GJ	JD
Age	6	10	10	10	10
unmarked plural	55	8	Ø	11	7
unmarked third singular	100	81	75	80	85
no possessive suffix	25	86	no potential	12	8
multiple negation	100	94	71	64	88
potentials for all features	28	125	33	136	135
averages	75	34	33	25	24

TABLE 14
PERCENTAGES OF NON-STANDARD FEATURES,
BY INTERVIEWERS

Interviewers	None	Negro male	White female	Negro female	Negro and White females	White male
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
unmarked plural	38	3	3	17	19	Ø
unmarked third singular	100	89	90	62	62	67
no possessive suffix	25	20	33	37	no potential	Ø
multiple negation	100	100	87	75	no potential	66
potentials for all features	34	35	183	128	27	50
averages	62	43	31	28	18	12

There are considerable differences in the average percentages of non-standard features in conversations involving a white interviewer as compared to those not involving one. The average percentage of non-standard features involving no white interviewer (columns I, II, and IV, Table 14) is 44%; for conversations involving a white interviewer (III, V, and VI) it is 20%. In addition, the only four non-standard possessive pronouns and the only two examples of non-standard embedded questions in the corpus occurred in the absence of any white interviewer.

On the other hand there is evidence that the particular white person present might make a great deal of difference in terms of realization of non-standard features. The average percentage of non-standard features in the children's speech was greater with a white female interviewer present than with a Negro female interviewer present (columns III and IV, Table 14). The white female interviewer was well known to the children and they appeared relaxed in her presence; at one point a child mistakenly addresses her using the name of the female Negro interviewer as was noted above. Undoubtedly this familiarity with the white female interviewer affects the speech of the children. We might speculate that this is reflected in their use of a higher percentage of non-standard features with her present than in the presence of the white male interviewer. When the latter was present an average of only 12% of the potential of non-standard features was realized (column VI, Table 14), as compared with 31% when the white female was present.

When the percentages of non-standard features used in situations with Negroes alone as interviewers (columns II and IV, Table 14), are compared with conversations with only white interviewers present (columns III and VI, there are also considerable differences evident. When with Negro interviewers alone, the children produced an average of 36% of the potential non-standard features; with white interviewers alone they produced 21%.

At least two factors may in part account for the low average percentage of non-standard features used by the children where both Negro and white females are present (column V, Table 14). First is the fact that there was no potential for two of the non-standard features, one of which (multiple negation) showed a high percentage of realization in all situations in which there was a potential for it. Second, the Negro female interviewer is the mother of the one child involved; she begins the interview by scolding the boy for bad behavior in school. This appears to have had an effect on the boy's performance and might well help account for the higher percentage of standard forms in his speech in this conversation.

The speech of BS, the youngest child in the conversations (Table 13), reflects a 75% occurrence of the four non-standard features, while the average for the other four older children is 28%. It must be noted again that this child took part in only one conversation, which involved no adult interviewer, and this fact as well as her age undoubtedly had some effect on her use of the higher percentage of non-standard features.

It can be suggested then, with the reservations noted above, that use of the four non-standard features considered varied depending upon the following factors:

- 1) Age of the child, with a higher percentage of non-standard features being used by the youngest child.
- 2) Presence or absence of adult interviewers, with absence of an interviewer correlating with a higher percentage of non-standard features.
- 3) Sex and racial characteristics of interviewer, with
 - a) presence of a white interviewer alone correlating on the average with a lower percentage of non-standard features and presence of a Negro interviewer alone correlating with a higher percentage.
 - b) presence of a "familiar" white female correlating with a higher percentage of non-standard forms than presence of a white male.

In spite of the relatively small sample in this study and the geographical distance involved in the comparison, the results noted above in terms of percentages of nonstandard features in the speech of black children in Washington are similar to those noted by Wolfram in his study of Detroit speech.⁵ Three of the four features examined for the 10 and 11 year olds in the present study showed nonstandard realization within nine percentage points of those for Wolfram's lower working class black informants, ages 10-12, in Detroit. (The larger spread in percentages for possessive marker absence between the two studies may be due in part to the smaller number of potential realizations in both). The results of the comparisons are shown below.

TABLE 15
MEAN PERCENTAGES OF -Z ABSENCE AND
MULTIPLE NEGATION

	Washington	Detroit
Third singular marker absence	80	81
Possessive marker absence	29	45
Plural marker absence	7	7
Multiple negation	81	90

⁵ Walter A. Wolfram, *A Sociolinguistic Description of Detroit Negro Speech*. (Washington, D. C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969), pp. 150, 163.

The mean number of potential realizations of these features for each informant in the two studies were:

	Washington (5 informants)	Detroit (48 informants)
Third singular marker:	15	28
Plural marker:	60	83
Possessive marker:	6	7
Multiple negation:	13	15

Some Notes for the Classroom

The results of this study clearly support a number of suggestions previously advanced by several investigators. The nature of the context in which speech takes place, including factors such as topic, and race and age of participants in a conversation, cannot be overlooked as influences upon speech. An intimidating situation is likely to affect speech. The interview situation is often intimidating, and the black child may thus be less inclined to uninhibited speech in such a setting. He should not, as a result, be labeled "non-verbal" any more than the middle class child should be so labeled if he were less than verbose upon finding himself the sole representative of his generation at an adult cocktail party.⁶

It is likely that the speech characteristics noted for the children in this study of black children from a lower socioeconomic group in Washington, D.C. will be found in the speech of such children elsewhere. It has been noted that percentages of -Z suffix absence and of multiple negation in the speech of the children in this study are with one exception close to the percentages found by Wolfram in the speech of black children in Detroit. If it does turn out that this uniformity is widespread, it should assist educators in planning language arts programs for such children.

The childrens' productive as well as their receptive control of standard English should not be underestimated. Even with a category such as the third person singular suffix, which showed an average 84% absence for all children, we find in the speech of one child with a 91% absence of this suffix, such sentences as:

we wen' on na thing da' go down and den goes right back
aroun' (121 MJ)

Clearly the child is here utilizing alternately a standard with a nonstandard "zero" realization of the third singular marker. This alternation is common for other features in these conversations and implies a degree of productive as well as receptive control of standard English.

There is a wealth of readily accessible data on the language of the five black children in the Loman text in addition to that utilized in this paper. The tapes and transcriptions of these fourteen conversations, available at the Center for Applied Linguistics, are a rich source of further information about the language of these children. Further examination of these materials and others can help us better understand the characteristics of the language of black children and to work more effectively with them.

⁶ Bereiter and Engelmann in *Teaching Disadvantaged Children in the Pre-School* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, 1966) have advanced the view that the lower socioeconomic group black child is "non-verbal" and even that he has an "illogical" language. These views have been effectively refuted by William Labov in *The Study of Nonstandard English* (Champaign, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1970).

VERBAL INTERACTION AND VERBAL ABILITY: RESEARCH AND PRACTICE

Davenport Plumer

Research and Practice — The Case of Standard Dialect

The relationship between research and practice in education — particularly any form of language teaching — is elusive at best and sometimes non-existent. This is not to suggest that language education or education in general is uniquely flawed; medicine may be much the same. In some cases there are entire research libraries on a particular field, as in the case of reading. Yet much of this research is conflicting and the actual practice in a given school often depends as much on the vagaries of academic politics as on the accumulation of unequivocal evidence. In fact, book salesmen and publishers often have schools and regions mapped out as to the reading philosophy of the teachers — based on the influence of a given professor of reading and how many proteges he has in key decision making positions. In this regard, Jeanne Chall's book *Reading — The Great Debate*, (1967) for all its thorough scholarship, can be expected to have a disproportionately small effect on the teaching of reading because Dr. Chall has not trained sufficient numbers of followers to influence statewide adoptions.

In other cases teachers seem to persist in the face of virtually uncontested evidence — as with the teaching of grammar. Braddock's (1963) study of the effect of teaching grammar — all kinds — on children's writing ability showed no effect: teaching grammar of any kind with any method over any period of time does not improve students' writing. *The lack of effect* of this study is predictable since it does not pose an alternative that can be developed by publishers. When, on the other hand, the "new grammar" appeared several years after Braddock we saw a diverse array of new texts and statewide adoptions led by the Roberts series.

Some of the same relationships between research and politics and the teachers' need for "material" are evident in programs for teaching the middle-class white or school dialect to speakers of non-standard English. The research thus far (e.g. Lin, 1965) has shown that dialect instruction can not be done effectively, yet teachers and others continue to insist that it should be done. There appear to be at least three somewhat questionable reasons for this insistence. The first is that there are alleged to be large numbers of white middle class employers who refuse to hire men and women who do not speak the local version of the standard dialect. If this particular received opinion has been investigated in the years since 1940 when C. C. Fries pointed out the failure of standard dialect instruction, I am not aware of it. If the notion of the language purist employer is a projection of the pedagogical mentality, we should know about it. This should not simply be a case of "everybody knows."

The second reason for the persistence of the view that the standard dialect should be taught is that it helps students learn to read and write. Labov's work (1967) with reading and a non-standard Harlem dialect sug-

Dr. Davenport Plumer holds a doctoral degree from the Harvard Graduate School of Education. He is Director of Educational Services of TDR Associates, Inc. in Massachusetts. He was associated formerly with the Harvard Graduate School of Education in which he served as Coordinator of the School Language Group and later as Assistant Director of the Office of Field Activities. He is a consultant to several State agencies and has published a number of research articles.

gests that this concern may be exaggerated, that children apprehend the concepts of e.g., past, possessive, and third person even though they themselves may fail to produce the appropriate inflections.

Finally, teachers feel impelled to teach the standard dialect in part because they see students learning it and they know that some adults have command over both the standard and non-standard dialect. If people can learn it, why shouldn't we teach it in school? The answer brings us back to the issue of research and practice in education. Leaving aside for the moment the important and often highly volatile question of whether the standard dialect *should* be taught to speakers of the non-standard form, a principal reason that so many attempts to teach the standard form have failed is that they have proceeded from incorrect assumptions and inadequate research.

Pattern practice, which seems to have achieved satisfactory results with foreign language teaching, has been assumed to be an appropriate model for teaching standard dialect. When faced with the failure of pattern practice drills to overcome the negative associations of the standard dialect the advocates of pattern practice seem inclined to urge more and better practice rather than to question the efficiency of their chosen model. But since they lack alternative procedures and materials, teachers who must, for whatever reasons, teach the standard dialect have little choice but to persist with what is available.

An Alternative Focus for Research

One means of achieving an alternative strategy is to redirect research into the process of first language acquisition. Rather than measuring with ever-increasing precision the relative effectiveness of pattern practice drills, future research should place greater emphasis on the language (dialect) learning process as it occurs naturally in the home and elsewhere. This is not to say that the natural process should or could provide a programmatic basis for more formal instruction. As an important pre-condition for formulating methods of instruction, however, it should be known in some detail.

Although the research to date into the language acquisition process has not stressed dialect *per se*, it does provide two useful insights into that process, insights which, it would seem, should illuminate the teaching of a second dialect. First, research into the language acquisition process (e.g. Ervin, 1964) has shown that imitation is not a sufficiently powerful concept to explain the creative aspects of first language acquisition. A child may learn a set of vocabulary items, but by imitation alone he will not achieve the complex set of understandings enabling him to organize the morphemic constituents of his language in a consistent manner in unfamiliar contexts. The same thing is true of the process of expansion which more closely resembles the idealized model of behavioral learning. Studies by Cazden (1967, 1968) have indicated that even the process of expansion does not produce marked changes in children's language performance. In this connection it should be noted that the process of expansion is, in fact, based upon a type of widely observed mother-child interaction.

A Naturalistic Study of Parent-Child Verbal Interaction

The study reported below investigates one aspect of adult-child verbal interaction which is intended to provide a model for more systematic language instruction. The study is based on the assumption that while all physically and psychologically normal children are equivalent in what Chomsky calls language competence, each child's home language environment exerts a marked influence on the development of his performance in reading, writing, giving and understanding oral explanations, etc. The pur-

pose of the study is to isolate those features of adult-child dialogue which are associated with high verbal ability. The study does not deal with vocabulary and syntax. Instead, it records and analyzes adult-child dialogues, seeking answers to such questions as — Who initiates adult-child dialogues? Are adult-child dialogues in the families of the able boys any shorter or longer than those in the average families? And, what are the parents' attitudes toward school success and general verbal proficiency?

To answer these and other questions, the study tape records twenty-one, twenty-minute conversations in the homes of twelve 7½ to 8½ year old boys. The researcher is not present at the time of recording and there are no set tasks or topics, the only constraints being those imposed by the presence of the tape recorder. Each of the 54,000 utterances was assigned to one of five categories of Moves or four categories of Stops. A Move is an utterance which initiates or advances a dialogue. A Stop is an utterance which inhibits or attempts to inhibit a dialogue. Utterances vary in length and complexity from a single word or even "un huh" to several sentences spoken by a single speaker. All dialogues were coded directly from the tapes, each move or stop being identified by a code letter placed in a column below the speaker's name. The sample coding sheet below shows the focal child initiating a short dialogue with his mother and sister and terminating the dialogue himself.

Focal Child	Mother	Sister
A		
	B	
C		
		D
	C	
X		

Four Ways of Treating the Data

Once the data was available on coding sheets, the dialogues of the twelve families were grouped in the following manner for analysis. A. *Total Sample*: Since the total sample contained different total amounts of dialogue for each of the twelve families, the analysis of this data was carried out using percentages of particular moves and stops that occur in the dialogues of a long dialogue are. Do these dialogues, for example, owe their momentum B. *Sub-Sample of 500 Consecutive Utterances*: This sub-sample was taken from the middle of a family's taping session to provide a check on the conclusions derived from the total sample and to provide for samples of identical length that would offset any bias inherent in the fact that the total sample for each family differed markedly from family to family. C. *Longer than Average Dialogues*: These dialogues vary in length because "average" in this case means the average for each family, not the group, since some families showed only a handful of dialogues above the group average. This measure shows potentially two things. First, whether there are group differences in length of dialogue — not only based on ability groups but also on factors like family size and ordinal position. Second, what the characteristics of a particular class of speakers, a particular family, or group of families, to adult or child moves? Who starts and finishes them? D. *Adult-Child Dialogues*: These dialogues included any dialogue involving an adult and a child as contrasted to adult-adult or child-child dialogues. Again the purpose was to identify any group differences that might exist and to characterize

the adult-focal child dialogues in terms of who initiates, extends, and terminates such dialogue. In each of the four data groupings the statistical treatment was the same: a *j* test was used to gauge the significance of the differences between group means.

Two other ways of characterizing the language environment in the two groups were used. First, one adult, usually the mother, from each family was interviewed (using a questionnaire adapted from Basil Bernstein) regarding such issues as — the degree of parental encouragement for discussion, the amount of parental tutoring, the typical mode of discipline, etc. Second, each family was treated in individual case studies that covered, e.g., typical topics of conversation, the extent to which adults set standards for children's explanations and arguments and the kinds of activities done jointly by adults and children.

Findings

One side effect of the study was to throw into question several traditionally held notions about nurturant home environments. Father absence, which has often been tied to poor verbal development, was shown to have no deleterious effects in terms of either average length or average number of adult-focal child dialogues. It should be understood, of course, that the father-absent families in this sample were relatively small and the children actually seemed to benefit from having the mother's undistracted conversational attention. This would most likely not be the case in a family with more children. Hence, the issue of father absence must be assessed within the context of other aspects of what the family *is* and *does*. The same is true of the two status features of family size and the ordinal position of the focal child. Neither was related to length or number of adult-focal child dialogues. While it is true that adult-child dialogues do not entirely summarize the language environment of a given home, they must be considered at least straws in the wind. As such, they do indicate that ordinal position and family size do not regularly exert a strong and direct influence on the home language environment. This indicates that there are certain important variables in the home environment that can offset an otherwise disadvantageous situation: the middle child in a large family with no father can, through the operation of these variables, receive verbal nurturance from his environment. The following section outlines some of these variables as they emerged from the research reported above.

Since the research uncovered very few statistically significant differences the findings reported below are based instead on trends that remain consistent over several different treatments.

The majority of the findings indicate that adult-focal child dialogues are pivotally related to the verbal ability of the focal child. This conclusion is based in part upon five measures which give a combined adult-focal child interaction score. While no one of these scores correlates with verbal ability, the five combined predict high or average verbal ability in eight out of twelve cases. The measures are: (1) percentage of adult extensions — the percentage of total utterances that constitute attempts by adults to promote further conversation. (2) percentage of adult extensions and indirect responses — same as above but combined with utterances which are not solicited and which do not solicit. (These were included and scored high largely for methodological reasons.) (3) percentage of dialogues of eight or more utterances. This was simply an arbitrary measure of how long an adult and a child talked to each other in each family. A high percentage was given a high score. (4) percentage of two-utterance dialogues. This was an arbitrary index of minimal verbal interaction. A high percentage was given a low

score (5) average length of adult-focal child dialogues. High ratings were given to families in which there was extended adult-focal child dialogue.

According to these indices what are the characteristics of a home that is likely to have a child with above average verbal ability? First, this predominantly middle class sample showed no between group differences in over-all number of utterances. It appears to be the case, however, that the able families do become involved in longer dialogues between adults and focal child than is the case with less able families. Moreover, the trends in measures of adult-child verbal interaction indicate that these longer dialogues have an identifiable set of roles and interaction patterns. The table below summarizes some of the features associated with high verbal ability.

INDEX OF COMPARATIVE VERBAL ACTIVITY

	Average Focal Child	Able Focal Child	Average Mother	Able Mother
— Initiates the largest percentage of all utterances than-average dialogues				X
— Largest percentage of mother initiations followed by focal child direct responses				X
— Focal child emits larger percentage of larger-ances than the mother		X		
— Lowest percentage of all utterances				X
— Most productive focal child group		X		
— Focal child exceeds parents only in direct responses	X			
— Conversational leader in average group			X	
— Exceeds all others in direct responses		X		

What appears from this table is that the mothers of the able boys typically initiate a conversation with their sons and when they have evoked a direct response (typically an answer to a question), encourage the focal children to continue without further prompting. This contrasts to the typical practice in less able homes in several ways. First, while the average focal children produce more direct responses than their mothers, average mothers are in all other respects the uncontested conversational leaders in the average homes. Able mothers, on the other hand, are considerably less active than their sons; though in relation to the average mothers they do start more dialogues by requiring a direct response from their sons. Second, despite the able mother's secondary conversational role, she is responsible for initiating the largest percentage of longer-than-average dialogues in the able families. Thus, she seems able to direct the conversational momentum

so that the topics she raises receive a full discussion, though not a lecture by her. Finally, the able focal child exceeds his average counterpart in all moves except extensions. That is, the average focal child produces a larger proportion of utterances designed to advance the dialogue than does the able boy. That this difference is not reflected in the average length of dialogue indicates that others do not always respond to his attempts to extend the dialogue and that others are not extending as frequently as he is.

Stated in terms of verbal ability, the following picture emerges. Above average verbal ability seems to be associated with a situation in which the mother initiates but then assumes a secondary conversational role. In families where the mother takes the conversational lead in terms of percentages of all utterances, the focal child can be expected to show average verbal ability. This characterization is borne out indirectly by the answers of the two groups to the questionnaire-interview. The bulk of the questions about child rearing practices and attitudes did not produce consistent differentiation between the two groups. However, in eleven out of twelve cases the following question did sort the focal children into two consistent groups. "Should children ever have the opportunity to influence their parents or change their minds on a particular subject?" The able parents, with one exception, said "yes" and the average parents said "no." Thus, those parents who feel their children should be allowed to influence them also provide the conversational and expectational framework in which this transaction can take place.

Implications for Schools

Two seemingly conflicting activities seem to characterize the optimum language learning environment: direct verbal interaction with a more mature speaker, a quantity of verbal output on the part of the learner which exceeds that of the teacher. In school terms—the teacher must talk directly with the learner, not to a whole class of which the learner happens to be a member; and the ground rules must encourage the learner to talk more than the teacher. This is, of course, not substantially different from saying that a child learns best by exercising the ability he is attempting to develop. It is, however, quite different from what goes on in many schools. Whole weeks can go by during which a child neither converses directly with an adult, nor speaks for anything like the amount of time his teacher does. The implications for the role of para-professionals in the classroom and for the kind of training they should receive are strikingly obvious.

It is also apparent that standard dialect instruction would profit by incorporating the two principles enunciated above: (1) The standard dialect teacher should interact *directly* with the student and (2) The student should be encouraged to *use* the dialect he is learning in a school setting. Teachers who have the help of para-professionals are better able to create optimum conditions. Those who do not should seriously consider other approaches to the problems of reading and social mobility. One approach might involve a translation project involving taped material from one dialect that must be translated to the other. Another could be a dialect study of a particular area or representative segment of the school. Although these activities would not teach students the standard dialect, they would make them aware of differences and thus better able to decide about changes they might make.

No matter what the teacher's decision about dialect teaching, if he is teaching children with language problems he must campaign vigorously for an environment in which students interact directly with more able speakers and talk often and extensively about topics that challenge them to use their language more precisely, more concretely, more elaborately, etc. At least they must do this until someone shows that the ideal way for children to

develop their verbal ability is to sit in a group and listen to someone else talk.

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AUDITORY DISCRIMINATION AND THE "DISADVANTAGED:" DEFICIT OR DIFFERENCE

Robert L. Politzer

It is generally assumed on a "common sense" as well as research basis that there is a relationship between auditory discrimination ability and reading readiness as well as performance in reading tasks. The relationship between auditory discrimination and reading achievement has been demonstrated in various research studies (Bond 1935, Wepman 1960, Wheeler and Wheeler 1954, C. P. Deutsch 1967). Poor and retarded readers tend to have auditory discrimination scores which are lower than those of other pupils.

It is, no doubt, for the above mentioned reason that recent research has concerned itself with the auditory discrimination ability of pupils who are generally classified as "socio-economically" or "culturally" disadvantaged. Since these pupils belong to a group that is characterized by low achievement in reading and language arts generally speaking, we might expect that they would also perform badly in auditory discrimination tasks. In

Dr. Robert L. Politzer holds doctoral degrees of Columbia University and New School for Social Research. He taught at Columbia University, University of Washington, Harvard University, University of Michigan. At present, Dr. Politzer is Professor of Education and Romance Linguistics at Stanford University and Research Associate in the Center for Research and Development in Teaching of Stanford University. He is author and co-author of books in the Teaching of French, German, Spanish, Foreign Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics.

general, research has confirmed that hypothesis. Thus, Martin Deutsch found in a well-known study that lower auditory discrimination scores are associated with both socio-economic status and race (M. Deutsch 1967, p. 365). The next logical step seems to be a look for environmental factors that would account for this lower auditory discrimination ability. Cynthia P. Deutsch suggested that the noisy slum environment may be responsible for the auditory discrimination deficit of the Disadvantaged. "... it may well be that lower-class children who live in very noisy environments do not develop the requisite auditory discrimination abilities to learn to read well—or adequately—early in their school careers" (C. P. Deutsch 1967, p. 275).

The concept of the disadvantaged child that has auditory discrimination difficulties,—and associated with them problems in reading and perhaps even speaking—was rather quickly and widely accepted in the literature dealing with the language problems of the Disadvantaged. Thus, the author of a paper on "Teaching the Disadvantaged" (published by the National Education Association in the series of "What Research Has to Say") states that "considerable information is already available concerning undetected and untreated defects in very young children. These include unintelligible pronunciation, faulty vision and deficient hearing, all of which block learning to read, spell and write . . ." "Many children do not hear final syllables unless the teacher articulates clearly and trains them to listen" (Noar 1967, p. 16). The idea that the inability to hear and to discriminate correctly may be responsible for all language problems of the Disadvantaged can be found in the work of scholars like Carl Bereiter and Siegfried Engelman who assert that "many disadvantaged children are so 'deaf' to the segmental character of English sentences, in fact, that they cannot even detect the difference between 'John is ready' and 'Ready is John . . .'" Little wonder then that these children "do not know how to talk in loud, clear voices. They either mumble almost inaudibly or else they yell raucously" (Bereiter and Engelman, n.d., p. 7). The picture of the disadvantaged child emerging from this discussion is that of a semi "deaf" and as a result linguistically handicapped individual.

The possibility that the auditory discrimination problem of the disadvantaged child may reflect a language difference is occasionally alluded to in the literature dealing with the so-called "deficit phenomena." Thus Martin Deutsch states that "it is important to note that the correlation with the Wepman auditory discrimination test is associated with both SES and race. What might be operative here is the presence of dialect variations in the Negro group, influencing and limiting the communication possibilities in school . . ." (M. Deutsch 1967, p. 365). However the suggestion that dialect difference may be responsible for the consistently lower auditory discrimination performance of Blacks and lower SES groups is never thought through to its logical conclusion, namely that the so-called "deficit" in auditory discrimination may be a mirage created by a misunderstanding of the task involved in the auditory discrimination test.

The instrument most widely used in the testing of auditory discrimination is the Wepman test. In the manual of directions, the author assures that "every possible match of phonemes used in English was made in phonetic categories" (Wepman 1958). The test is, in fact, based on having the pupil recognize the differences in a series of so-called minimal pairs (words differentiated by only one phoneme) of standard English, e.g., *leg/led*; *dim/din*; *clothe/clove*, etc. The task involved in having to decide whether a pair like *dim/din* is made up of identical or different items looks deceptively simple. It is not. The entire problem of how speech sounds are perceived is complex and subject to continuous and largely unresolved debate (e.g., see Lane 1966; Liberman, Cooper, Shankweiler and Studdert-

Kennedy 1967; Studdert-Kennedy, Liberman, Harris and Cooper 1970). Why is it, for instance, that we perceive the identical words uttered by different individuals as the "same," in spite of the fact that they are spoken by different voices? Why do we recognize easily the underlying "sameness" of dialectally different pronunciation of the same word? To discuss the complex problems of perception of speech sound goes beyond the scope of this article. It will suffice to point out that the decision of whether two utterances are the same or different is a complex and ambiguous task. It involves at least the following steps: (1) The utterances have to be heard. (2) They must be "perceived," in other words they are identified so that they can be retained in auditory memory. (3) They must be stored in a short term auditory memory, so that they can be compared. (4) Finally a decision must be made as to whether they belong to the same or to different categories. In other words, what is involved in each item of the auditory discrimination test is hearing, perception, auditory memory, categorization.

That performance in auditory discrimination tests is influenced by the native language of the subjects has been known to linguists for quite some time (Polivanov 1931-34). In the words of Sapon and Carroll, "The probability of perception of a given sound in a given environment is related to the language of the listener . . ." "where errors in perception occur, the direction and magnitude of many errors are systematically related to the language spoken by the listener . . ." (Sapon and Carroll 1955, pp. 67-68). This statement does not make it clear, however, just what the "error in perception" consists in. What seems most likely is that errors in perception caused by native language backgrounds are simply errors in categorization.

To give a simple example: English has two i-phonemes; /i/ as in *beat* and /ɪ/ as in *bit*. If a speaker of English is asked whether or not *beat* and *bit* are the same, he will quite naturally respond that they are not. Spanish, however, has only one i-phoneme. When asked whether English *beat* or *bit* are the same, speakers of Spanish will often give an affirmative answer. Those speakers of Spanish are then said to be unable to "discriminate" between /i/ and /ɪ/, or to have difficulty in "hearing" the difference between /i/ and /ɪ/. But to say that they have difficulty in "hearing" amounts to a rather loose or at least very figurative use of language. Obviously there is no reason to assume that speakers of Spanish "hear" any worse than speakers of English (in other words are more likely to have defective hearing). Nor is there any reason to suspect that their failure to discriminate between /i/ and /ɪ/ has anything to do with a lesser auditory memory span. Speakers of Spanish "hear" and "discriminate" (in the strict sense of the term) just as well as speakers of English, but their native language has exposed them to years of practice in neglecting all differences between sounds in the [i-ɪ] range and in classifying all of them in the same category. The result is, of course, that a speaker of Spanish may hear a pair of words like *bit/beat* classify the /ɪ/ of *bit* in the same category as the /i/ of *beat*—and then pronounce *beat* and *bit* alike. It is for this reason that foreign language teachers have been using so-called auditory discrimination exercises as part of pronunciation training. In other words, speakers of Spanish must be taught to differentiate /i/ and /ɪ/—this means to assign them to different categories—before they can learn to pronounce them correctly as different sounds.

In view of the fact that in foreign language training, the influence of the native language has for some time been accepted as an important factor influencing the categorization of speech sounds, it seems rather astonishing that much of the literature dealing with the Disadvantaged continues to treat their auditory discrimination problems as related primarily to "hearing," "auditory memory span" or "faulty perception." The possibility that

hearing, perception and auditory memory span may somehow be affected adversely by low socio-economic status (e.g., noisy slum environments) does exist, of course, though it seems rather remote. By far the most plausible explanation of the auditory discrimination deficit of the Disadvantaged is simply that the categorizations (same vs. different) which are expected on the testing instruments are those of standard English and simply do not correspond to the social dialect of blacks and/or lower socio-economic status groups.

That the Fatamorgana of the auditory discrimination deficit is simply the result of different language backgrounds can be demonstrated most easily with Mexican-Americans who actually speak Spanish at home and whose English is heavily influenced by Spanish speech habits. In an experiment recently conducted at the Stanford University Center in Research and Development in Teaching, an auditory discrimination test was administered to a group of Mexican-Americans (presumably lower socio-economic status) children and to monolingual English control groups. The tests consisted of pairs of nonsense syllables. Pairs were either alike or differentiated by only one sound, and the subjects were asked to make the "same or different" judgment. The test had three parts. Differences in Part 1 were based on distinctions utilized in the French Phonemic pattern (e.g., a/ā, oe/œ, y/u, etc.). Part 2 relied on phonemic differences of English (i/i; u/u, ə/a) and Part 3 on distinctions used in Spanish (r/R; -r/-ð-; g-/gw-, etc.). On Part 1 of the test, there was no difference in the performance of the two groups. The monolingual English speakers outperformed the Mexican-Americans in Part 2. The Mexican-Americans won on Part 3 (Politzer and McMahon 1970).

The phonological and grammatical features which differentiate lower socio-economic status social dialect in general and Black English from standard speech have been described in various publications (e.g., McDavid 1967, Labov 1967). A brief comparison of features of Black English with standard English on which the Wepman test is based leads one to suspect that many speakers of Black dialects might categorize the following pairs which the Wepman test categorization assumes to be "different" as "same."

Form I of the test:

Items: 4. leg/led, 13. thread/shred, 17/pat/pack, 18 dim/din, 25. clothe/clove, 28. sheat/sheaf, 33. shoal/showl, 40. pin/pen.

Form II:

Items: 12. gall/goal, 14. let/lick, 15. bud/bug, 20. fret/threat, 22. bum/bun, 23. lave/lathe, 36. wreath/reef.

It would be an interesting experiment to administer the Wepman test or other auditory discrimination tests to speakers of different social dialects and to determine (1) whether groups speaking different dialects perform differently on specific test items and (2) whether these differences in performance reflect differences in the speech pattern of the groups. Especially elementary school teachers involved in the teaching of children speaking non-standard dialects could then use auditory discrimination tests for becoming aware of the specific language problems of these children. (The author had hoped to include in this article some data concerning differential auditory discrimination performance of children coming from different language backgrounds as measured by the Wepman test. Unfortunately the data could not be collected in time for inclusion in this article, because the author was informed that it seemed difficult to find an "adequate" sample of children from Mexican-American or Black families in the school district in which he intended to collect the data because a large percentage of those children appeared to suffer from speech and/or hearing problems . . .).

The difference in auditory discrimination between Disadvantaged and Non-disadvantaged tends to disappear as children progress through the school (M. Deutsch 1967, p. 365). It could be only too tempting to interpret this fact in terms of retarded maturation on the part of the disadvantaged group. What seems more likely however is that eventually the increased contact with the standard dialect teaches the non-standard speaker just what categorization he is supposed to be making. By the time he learns to make these categorizations the harm caused by not diagnosing the discrimination problem in the early grades has already been done.

The auditory discrimination problem is only a small but very concrete instance in which the language "deficit" of the disadvantaged turns out to be a simple "difference." Whether the disadvantage consists in a "deficit" or a "difference" seems, at first, relatively unimportant. Thus both W. Labov (who considers the phenomena discussed here as difference) and Cynthia P. Deutsch who speaks about auditory discrimination deficits come to similar pedagogical conclusions: "A certain amount of attention given to perception training in the first few years of school may be extremely helpful in teaching children to hear and make standard English distinctions" (Labov 1967, p. 25). "It would be possible for children with such deficiencies" (in auditory discrimination)—"or immaturities—to fall far behind in many respects of their school work and thus be unable to catch-up even when the deficiency is overcome. This could, of course, underline the importance of training in auditory discrimination early in the school career" (C. P. Deutsch 1967, p. 276). However, there are practical differences between the results of a "difference" and a "deficit" approach. First of all, the difference approach enables us to distinguish clearly the areas in which auditory discrimination problems exist from those in which no such problems are present. It makes it possible to focus instruction more intelligently and economically. The clear-cut awareness that we are dealing with a difference and not a deficit may also lead us to the conclusion that we should simply not expect certain auditory discriminations from students not speaking standard dialect and, that we should accept certain pronunciation mergers in their speech. Perhaps most important however is the difference of attitude implied in the difference between the two approaches. "Deficit" puts the blame on one party—"difference" implies no such judgment. It takes two to make a "difference." Martin Deutsch says that it is one of the goals of education "to program stimulation in increasingly less amorphous ways and with methods that are approximate to basic learning capabilities, so as to vitiate the effects of unfavorable environments" (M. Deutsch 1967, p. 369). The difference approach recognizes the possibility that unfavorable environments may also be created by the school.

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SOME PROBLEMS IN STUDYING NEGRO/WHITE SPEECH DIFFERENCES

Roger W. Shuy

In a recent caricature of the relationship of anthropologists to the American Indians whom they study, Vine Deloria, Jr. in his new book *Custer Died for Your Sins*, rather humorously but accurately portrays the annual, summer ritual of the scholarly community to the golden southwest.¹ Exactly when the ritual began remains a mystery but Deloria feels that Indians are certain that all ancient societies of the Near East had anthropologists at one time because those societies are all now defunct. Of greater concern, however, is the author's conviction that the essential mes-

¹ Vine Deloria, Jr. "Custer Died for Your Sins," *Playboy*, (August, 1969), pp. 131-132, 172-175.

Dr. Roger W. Shuy is at present Director of the Sociolinguistics Program at the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, D.C. He is also directing the Sociolinguistics Program at Georgetown University. Prior to these positions, Dr. Shuy served as Associate Professor of English and Linguistics at Michigan State University. He has been a recipient of several grants awarded by Federal and private agencies. He is the author of publications on regional and social dialectology and has published widely in linguistics, education and speech journals.

sage of all these observations, reports, and books on the American Indian says the same thing year after year and the say it in a mildly offensive, sloganeering way. "... Indians are a folk people, whites are an urban people, ... Indians are between two cultures, Indians are bicultural, Indians have lost their identity, ... Indians are warriors." (p. 132).

It is not our purpose here to pursue further Deloria's thesis about his fellow American Indians, but rather to use it as a point of departure for examining our own approaches to the study of minority groups in the field of language, social dialects in particular.

The Unfulfilled Promises of Research

Of course it is hardly appropriate for linguists to look down on other disciplines in matters which involve the study of people. If we have not been criticized adequately, it is probably only from our lack of activity so far. For example, the serious study of the speech of economically and educationally disadvantaged Negroes has only just begun and has hardly caused a stir in a world of race-relations which has not yet fully conceived of language as part of the battle ground.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the developing relationship of linguistics to matters of current social concern, especially as it relates to the study of minority groups. The September (1969) annual meetings of the American Psychological Association (APA), the American Sociological Association (ASA) and the American Political Science Association (APSA) may provide considerable weighty warning about the road ahead in the study of social dialects in our country. Just as Deloria scored anthropologists for their alleged compilation of useless knowledge for knowledge's sake and for their heady but empty determination to preserve their own species, so current research practices of the disciplines of psychology, sociology and political science have been uncerimoniously attacked by their own membership with statements like the following one made by Robert L. Green, co-chairman of the Association of Black Psychologists: who observes that the black community has served as a research colony for white psychologists and white sociologists.² Likewise, in his presidential address at the ASPA, David Easten proclaimed: "A new revolution is underway in political science. Its battle cries are *relevance* and *action*. Its objects of criticism are the discipline, the professions and the universities."³

From the unrest apparent in the disciplines of psychology, sociology and political science, and from certain feedback from the as yet limited research done by linguists in minority group speech, two problems have emerged for which solutions must be immediately devised:

1. Should the speech of minority groups be studied at all?
2. If justification is found for studying such speech, what should be required of it?

The most ardent detractors from the study of social dialects seem divided on both issues. There may be some, for example, who argue that it is pointless to do research on non-standard speech. They may regard it as unattractive and of little value and argue that researchers might better spend their time on studying more useful things. But such an argument can be rejected from the perspective of almost any discipline. Non-standard speech is interesting psychologically, anthropologically, historically, linguistically and, most certainly, pedagogically. More important, these and other disciplines can provide helpful assistance to speakers of such dialects if the

² Robert L. Green, in *Washington Evening Star* (September 3, 1969), p. A 22.

³ *Newsweek*, September 13, 1969, p. 42.

researchers can free themselves from their enchantment with basic research and move along to practical matters as well. The latter may be the most convincing of all, since it is virtually impossible to plot an educational strategy by knowing only the desired end results. One must certainly also know the learner's beginning points.

The Researcher vs. the Researched

In recent months we have heard further criticism of the study of non-standard speech. These cries are made from quite defensible grounds and with convincing logic. They go something like this: "Why single us out for research? Why not study some other groups of people?" Unfortunately, researchers were not always ready with acceptable answers to these questions and, no matter how well motivated they really were, their responses easily could be taken as, at best, patronizing and, at worst, discriminatory. Thus unthinking answers such as "We are studying you because you have such a great problem" or "We are studying you because you are so interesting from the view point of my discipline" lead only to what Desmond Morris might call "The Human Zoo syndrome." Subjects may be thought of as freaks or, at least, as peculiar. Even our scholarly use of the designators, *informants*, *subjects*, *populations*, etc. smack of a cold impersonality with which no lay reader could be expected to sympathize. Deloria's complaint undoubtedly will be answered, to some extent, by anthropologists who are probably not as badly motivated as he makes them out to be but who are also not as conscionable as they themselves think they are. Deloria rightly attacks the useless knowledge for knowledge's sake and concludes, "why should cribes have to compete with scholars for funds when their scholarly productions are so useless and irrelevant to life?" (p. 174)

The Danger of Knowing

This attack, namely, that researchers stop far short of providing information which can be translated into a useful program to help alleviate the problem they are supposedly studying, is a serious one. In fact, Deloria observes, the basic research data, unless seen in light of concrete action, can contribute seriously to the demise of a minority group. Thus the anthropologist's explanation that the Indian's dilemma at being between two worlds leads him to excuse his excessive drinking on the grounds that he does it because he is in a dilemma between two worlds. Or, in another setting, Danie P. Moynihan's observation that the Negro families suffer from being female dominated can provide the ghetto Negro male all the excuse he needs to shirk his family responsibilities. The danger, of course, is not in these facts by themselves (assuming that they are accurate), but in seeing these facts in isolation rather than as part of a larger continuum.

For those of you who have been wondering whether or not I was ever going to get to the topic implied by the title of this paper, let me now begin to put you at ease. In order to study differences between the speech used by any two groups of people, it is necessary to have done considerable thinking about what the knowledge of this comparison will do for the people being studied as well as for the fields of scholarship involved. The people whose speech is being studied, however, care very little about how well linguists can solve linguistic problems involving language change, ordered rules or the discovery of underlying forms. They care not a whit about how well language features can be used as a measure of social stratification or to determine historical influences, linguistic assimilation or variable rules. Any research project which proposes to use minority group subjects today must fully realize that the days of the responsive informant are growing numbered. He wants to know why we are doing what we are doing and what it all leads to. The linguist involved in such projects

can no longer aim only at a scholarly journal to his research, even though his professional status argues that he should. He must worry, at every stage of his research, about the ultimate end product. In short, the modern situation argues for research projects with broad scopes, not narrow ones, and for practical outcomes, not merely theoretical ones.

Easy-Believism

Recent times have witnessed a number of educational easy-believisms all which have come short of the glory of success. Recent reports of the failure of Title I funds to accomplish what they set out to do have pointed out, much to our embarrassment, that benefit to the school's problems does not accrue from merely making large amounts of money available. In fact, a recent report by economists at the First National City Bank of N. Y. showed that there is little correlation between improvement in reading skills in black schools and the amount of money poured into these classrooms.⁴ The next easy-believism is likely to be that all we really need is a lot more teachers or tutors, then children will learn to read and write. It has been suggested, in fact, that a cadre of lay people can be used effectively to teach literacy in this country (oddly enough, it has never been suggested, to my knowledge, that a large cadre of lay people be formed to aid in the problems of dentistry or law). Of course money is useful and no program can operate without willing and altruistic people but this line of thinking neglects a far more major problem—"What is the content of the subject to be taught?" What this suggests is that the exact reverse of the relevance principle so aptly advocated by Deloria may also lead to meaninglessness to the minority group. To a certain extent, this principle underlies the Regional Educational Laboratory movement in this country. For several years now such laboratories have concentrated heavily on converting vast amounts of basic research into viable classroom practices. The results of their efforts have not been earthshaking, despite every good intention and, in some cases, because of it. The dangers of picking up another man's research and running with it should be immediately apparent without documentation, since the literature is now growing on the subject. But oral language materials for secondary students should offer a plethora of examples. The New York City Board of Education, for example, used the work of William Labov and Beryl Bailey as a base for constructing the NCTE's publication *Non-Standard Dialects*. In doing so, it managed to misunderstand a great deal of what these excellent scholars have written. Likewise, one of the better regional educational laboratories has been using oral language materials originally written for Spanish speakers with Southern Negro children. Yet the ludicrousness of teaching black children such things as the aspiration of their word initial voiceless stops should be apparent to anyone. What I am saying is that if researchers can be scored for not carrying their research to practical ends, likewise the practical people can be criticized for not doing the research. Both can be well meaning and, to a limited extent, accurate, but neither sees the whole picture that is becoming an absolute requirement in our times. And we have been led to this not by the insights of our own disciplines, not by a sudden re-discovery of Francis Bacon's Renaissance Man who argued that "all knowledge should be our province." Instead we have been led to it by the very people we are studying. They are telling us, "Don't study me or my speech if it won't help me. I've got enough problems as it is and I don't have time for that kind of game-playing. If it will help me, show me how." But even then there is no guarantee that he will cooperate with us. And we

⁴ Karl E. Meyer, "Money as School Cure-All Questioned," *The Washington Post*, Tuesday, November 25, 1969, p. A6.

can't blame him if he refuses. Our track record is far from clear. The various disciplines that have been studying Negro speech in this country have said enough damaging things already to produce an uncrossable gulf. Early childhood educators have told him that he is non-verbal, that he has defective hearing and that his language signals cognitive deficits. Speech people have told him that he is deficient and suffering from a kind of pathological weakness. English teachers have dismissed him as inarticulate and ignorant of the most fundamental aspects of grammar and pronunciation. Reading teachers have considered him illiterate. Psychologists have observed that he deviates from the prescribed norm. Linguists have described his speech in order to observe sound change, historical origins and underlying grammatical forms. Where do we begin to repair the damage? Or was there any point to studying his speech in the first place?

Inadequate Research Design

We have briefly discussed the problems of the researcher vs. the researched, the unfulfilled promises of research and the dangers of knowing. Other problems in studying Negro-white speech differences stem from the misassessing of facts by scholars, a partial or incomplete knowledge of the facts, and an inadequate research design for ascertaining these facts. It is the latter problem to which I wish to address myself in the remainder of this paper.

Historically it has been difficult for linguists to observe the speech differences between the races because their tools for measuring social class were imperfect, often leading their results astray. That is, Negro-white differences tend to be minimized in the upper middle classes but become increasingly evident as one moves down the social scale. Evidence of this minimizing can be clearly observed from the C.A.L. research, *Sociolinguistic Factors in Speech Identification* when, from stimuli containing as little as 20 to 30 seconds of continuous tape recorded speech, listeners could accurately identify the race of the speaker in all but the upper middle class stimuli.⁵ The taped speech of upper middle class Negroes was identified by race accurately only 17.3% of the time by Negro listeners and only 8.2% of the time by white listeners. Listeners judged the racial identity of the taped voices of all other classes, however, with an overall accuracy of approximately 95%. This sort of information seems to make it quite clear that researchers must be very careful to get a rather complete spectrum of social class representation of both races when studying Negro-White speech differences. This is, of course, easier said than done. The relatively unbiased random sample which the Detroit Dialect Study carried out in that city in 1966 turned up a population which showed that only 15% of all Negroes are found in the upper half of the social status spectrum in contrast to 40% of the white population which is found in that category. Likewise, at the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum, it is often difficult to find whites who are as poor as the poorest Negroes, especially in the South.

One thing we are warned against, by facts such as these, is that it is dangerous to say anything about Negro-white speech differences on the basis of language data evidence from only the middle class Negroes. Equally dangerous, however, is the opposite of this situation. The early research of the Urban Language Study was carried out on a relatively small population in Washington, D. C. Considerable effort was made to avoid the bias of dialectologists in their wide-meshed studies. Rather early in the research, however, an obvious question arose: Just how representative is the speech

⁵ Shuy, Roger W., Joan C. Baratz and Walter A. Wolfram, *Sociolinguistic Factors in Speech Identification*, NIMH Project No. MH 15048-01, Final Report.

of one city block in Washington? After asking ourselves these questions, we developed a somewhat broader base using two major cities, Detroit and Washington, with representatives from all social classes, ages and races. Since it had become increasingly difficult to describe a feature as characteristically lower class, adult or Negro without knowing considerably more about the speech of contiguous social groups, it was necessary to analyze the speech of these groups as well.

Recent sociolinguistic research, which highlights Negro-white speech differences has paid considerable attention to representative sampling and selectional bias. In Wolfram's recent study of Detroit Negro speech he selected 48 informants from the randomly selected corpus of the Detroit Dialect Study.⁶ The informants were evenly distributed among four social classes, three age groups and both sexes. His research design illustrates a growing awareness among linguists that it is unfair to talk about Negro speech, Black English (or whatever other term is used) without observing such speech in a wide range of social categories. Of course, there are other ranges to be covered as well, including the social context of the speaking and the style of speech which is being observed. A true picture of Negro-white speech differences will have to account for all of these situations.

But even a well designed study such as Wolfram's examines only part of the problem. In an urban Northern community such as Detroit, many regional features appear to have been transformed into ethnic or social status markers. A study of Negro-white speech differences in such a community may be accurate for that community but may say little about the same situation elsewhere, especially in the South. It would seem that comparable quantitative studies of Negro-white speech differences must also be done in the deep South. Such a study should build on the differences already noted in the North (especially in Detroit, Chicago, Washington, D. C. and New York). As a step in this process, linguists at C.A.L. have begun extracting speech data obtained from fifty lower socio-economic children from Lexington, Mississippi (a small, rural, cotton raising area some forty miles north of Jackson). The informants are all six to eight year old residents of that area. Half are Negro and half are white. We selected this age group to begin our study since it represents a period when children are generally past the developmental stage but not yet at the age when the social consequences of their language is in high gear. Also, since it has been suggested that among children certain creole-like features are more apt to be found than at any other age, it seemed useful to start with this age group.

Although the analyses of these Mississippi data are still in the early stages it is already possible to see certain patterns recurring. The polarity of position perhaps first stated by Kurath in 1949, that the speech of uneducated Southern Negroes differs little from illiterate Southern whites, with that of Bailey who states that the non-standard speech of American Negroes exhibits a different deep structure, having creole grammatical origins, is at the focus of the dilemma from the linguist's point of view. But the people of Mississippi will have to have a better reason for being studied. That is, the linguist will have to be able to indicate that by studying the speech of Lexington, we will contribute, in some way, to their lives. As it turns out, this study had such a reason. The speech features were studied in relationship to the curriculum and materials which were in use at the time. The end product will be, on the one hand, a description of certain stigmatized features of the speech of both Negro and white

⁶ Wolfram, Walter A. *A Sociolinguistic Description of Detroit Negro Speech*, Washington: CAL, 1969.

children in Lexington. On the other hand, the end product will also include a set of recommendations to the school concerning whether or not the curriculum and materials address themselves to the right questions and if they are relevant, how they might be improved.

This kind of study may inch linguists who are interested in Negro-white speech differences a little closer to satisfying the pressing questions of relevance and action. But it is going to require a different breed of linguist than is being turned out by most of our universities today. We have lived to see the consequences of fragmented research strategies. It has been proved that, in matters of applied linguistics, we can not rely on the linguist to do just the basic research, then pass the ball to the educator for pedagogical purposes. It has been equally disastrous for educators to pretend to be able to do the basic linguistic research upon which classroom applications can be made. Neither of these approaches has been done well and it seems unlikely that they ever will. Instead what seems to be a more useful path is for linguists to abandon their insecurity about being tainted by matters of applied linguistics. Many prominent linguists are speaking out on matters of politics and social concerns today. It seems ludicrous that such speaking out has been largely accomplished *outside* their disciplinary competence, not from within. If we are really serious about social and educational problems in our country we should not be above working on them from the view and framework of our discipline. In short, I am arguing that applied linguistics be restored to legitimacy among linguists who, instead of scorning it, should contribute their knowledge. If linguistics has nothing to say about matters of current social, political or educational concern, we should ask ourselves whether or not our discipline is little more than academic game.

The purpose of this paper has been to point out some of the problems involved in studying Negro/white speech differences in our country. Some of our problems stem from inadequacies in research design. Some of the problems stem of our own political, social, disciplinary insensitivities. The times will no longer permit us this sort of barbarism. Rather than despair, however, we should be thankful that those whom we have treated as subjects for research are forcing us toward new relevance. The burden is now upon linguistics to broaden its narrow focus—or to get out of the business entirely.

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